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HUDIBRAS,

BY

SAMUEL BUTLER;

WITH VARIORUM NOTES, SELECTED PRINCIPALLY
FROM GREY AND NASH.

EDITED BY

HENRY G. BOHN.



LONDON:

BELL & DALDY, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1873.

PR 3338

A7,1873

MAR 15 1917

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET
AND CHARING CROSS.



G. Adcock sc.

Jamnell Butler



PREFACE.

THE edition of *Hudibras* now submitted to the public is intended to be more complete, though in a smaller compass, than any of its numerous predecessors. The text is that of Nash, usually accepted as the best; but in many instances—as in the very first line—the author's original readings have been preferred. In all cases the variations are shown in the foot notes, so that the reader may take his choice.

The main feature, however, of the present edition is its notes; these have been selected with considerable diligence and attention from every known source, and it is believed that no part of the text is left unexplained which was ever explained before. *Grey* has been the great storehouse of information, and next in degree *Nash*, but both have required careful sifting. Other editions, numerous as they are,—including *Aikin's*, the *Aldine*, and *Gilfillan's*,—have yielded nothing. *Mr Bell's*, which is by far the best, is edited on the same principle as the present, and had that gentleman retained the numbering of the lines, and given an Index, there would have been little left for any successor to improve.

A few of the notes in the present selection are, to a certain extent, original, arising from some historical and bibliographical knowledge of the times, or derived

from a manuscript key, annexed to a copy of the first edition, and attributed to Butler himself.

The Biographical Sketch of our poet is a mere *rifacimento* of old materials, for nothing new is now to be discovered about him. Diligent researches have been made in the parish where he lived and died—Covent Garden—without eliciting any new fact, excepting that the monument erected to his memory has been destroyed.

This volume has been more than two years at press, having dribbled through the editor's hands, not during his leisure hours or intervals of business, for he never had any, but by forced snatches from his legitimate pursuits. An old affection for Hudibras, acquired nearly half a century ago, at a time when its piquant couplets were still familiarly quoted, had long impressed him with the desire to publish a really popular edition ;

Et l'on revient toujours
A ses premières amours ;

the public therefore now have the result.

It has happened, from the want of consecutive attention, that two or three notes are all but duplicate, such as that on *Wicked Bibles* at pages 326 and 371 ; *Mum and Mummery*, 385 and 406 ; and, *He that fights and runs away*, at pages 403 and 106. But the publisher hopes that his readers will not quarrel with him for giving too much rather than too little.

HENRY G. BOHN.

York Street, Covent Garden.
April 28th, 1859.



LIST OF THE WOOD CUTS

IN BUTLER'S HUDIBRAS.

DESIGNED BY THURSTON.

VIGNETTE ON PRINTED TITLE, engraved by *Thompson*.

Then did Sir Knight abandon dwelling,
And out he rode a colonelling.—
A Squire he had, whose name was Ralph,
That in th' adventure went his half. l. 13, 14, 457-8.

ENGRAVED TITLE. HEAD OF HUDIBRAS. *Thompson*.

Thus was he gifted and accouter'd,—
His tawny beard was th' equal grace
Both of his wisdom and his face ;
In cut and dye so like a tile,
A sudden view it would beguile. l. 237—244.

HEAD PIECE, PART I. CANTO I. *White*.

When Gospel-Trumpeter, surrounded
With long-ear'd rout, to battle sounded,
And pulpit, drum ecclesiastick,
Was beat with fist, instead of a stick. l. 9—12.

TAIL PIECE, PART I. CANTO I.

——he always chose
To carry vittles in his hose,
That often tempted rats and mice
The ammunition to surprise. l. 318—321.

HEAD PIECE, PART I. CANTO II. *Thompson*.

And wing'd with speed and fury, flew
To rescue Knight from black and blue.
Which ere he could achieve, his sconce
The leg encounter'd twice and once ;
And now 'twas rais'd, to smite agen,
When Ralpho thrust himself between. l. 941—946

TAIL PIECE, PART I. CANTO II., engraved by *Branston*.

Crowdero making doleful face,
Like hermit poor in pensive place,
To dungeon they the wretch commit,
And the survivor of his feet.

l. 1167—1170.

HEAD PIECE, PART I. CANTO III. *Branston*.

When setting ope the postern gate,
To take the field and sally at,
The foe appear'd, drawn up and drill'd,
Ready to charge them in the field.

l. 443—446.

TAIL PIECE, PART I. CANTO III.

———in a cool shade,
Which eglantine and roses made;
Close by a softly murm'ring stream,
Where lovers us'd to loll and dream:
There leaving him to his repose.

l. 159—163.

HEAD PIECE, PART II. CANTO I. *Thompson*.

———she went
To find the Knight in limbo pent.
And 'twas not long before she found
Him, and his stout Squire, in the pound.

l. 99—102.

TAIL PIECE, PART II. CANTO I. *Branston*.

——— a tall long-sided dame,—
But wond'rous light—ycleped Fame,—
Upon her shoulders wings she wears
Like hanging sleeves, lin'd thro' with ears.

l. 45—50.

HEAD PIECE, PART II. CANTO II. *Branston*.

With that he seiz'd upon his blade;
And Ralpho too, as quick and bold,
Upon his basket-hilt laid hold.

l. 560—562.

TAIL PIECE, PART II. CANTO II. *Thompson*.

———quitting both their swords and reins,
They grasp'd with all their strength the manes;
And, to avoid the foe's pursuit,
With spurring put their cattle to't.

l. 839—842.

HEAD PIECE, PART II. CANTO III., engraved by *Branston*.

———Hudibras, to all appearing,
Believ'd him to be dead as herring.
He held it now no longer safe
To tarry the return of Ralph,
But rather leave him in the lurch.

l. 1147—1151.

TAIL PIECE, PART II. CANTO III.

White.

This Sidrophel by chance espy'd,
And with amazement staring wide:
Bless us, quoth he, what dreadful wonder
Is that appears in heaven yonder?

l. 423—426.

HEAD PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO SIDROPHEL.

Byfield.

Sidrophel perusing Hudibras' Epistle.

TAIL PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO SIDROPHEL.

Byfield.

Gimcracks, whims, and juggumbobs.

HEAD PIECE, PART III. CANTO I.

Thompson.

He wonder'd how she came to know
What he had done, and meant to do;
Held up his affidavit hand,
As if he 'ad been to be arraign'd.

l. 483—486.

TAIL PIECE, PART III. CANTO I.

Branston.

H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,
And in a moment gain'd the pass;
Thro' which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's
Four-quarters out by th' head and shoulders.

l. 1577—1580.

HEAD PIECE, PART III. CANTO II.

Thompson.

Knights, citizens, and burgesses—
Held forth by rumps—of pigs and geese.—
Each bonfire is a funeral pile,
In which they roast, and scorch, and broil.

l. 1515—1520.

TAIL PIECE, PART III. CANTO II.

Thompson.

———crowded on with so much haste,
Until they 'd block'd the passage fast,
And barricado'd it with haunches
Of outward men, and bulks and paunches.

l. 1669—1672

- HEAD PIECE, PART III. CANTO III., engraved by *Hughes*.
 To this brave man the Knight repairs
 For counsel in his law-affairs,—
 To whom the Knight, with comely grace,
 Put off his hat to put his case. l. 621—628.
- TAIL PIECE, PART III. CANTO III. *Byfield*.
 With books and money plac'd for show,
 Like nest-eggs to make clients lay. l. 624, 625.
- HEAD PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO THE LADY. *Byfield*.
 —having pump'd up all his wit,
 And humm'd upon it, thus he writ. l. 787, 788.
- TAIL PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO THE LADY. *Byfield*.
 What tender sigh, and trickling tear,
 Longs for a thousand pounds a year;
 And languishing transports are fond
 Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond. l. 85—88.
- HEAD PIECE TO THE LADY'S ANSWER. *Thompson*.
 She open'd it, and read it out,
 With many a smile and leering flout. l. 357, 358.
- TAIL PIECE TO THE LADY'S ANSWER. *Branston*.
 We make the man of war strike sail,
 And to our braver conduct veil,
 And, when he 's chas'd his enemies,
 Submit to us upon his knees. l. 311—314.
- VIGNETTE AT PAGE XXIV. *Thompson*.
 The dogs beat you at Brentford Fair;
 Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,
 And handled you like a fop-doodle. Part II. c. iii.
 l. 996—998.
- VIGNETTE AT PAGE 473.
 —the foe beat up his quarters,
 And storm'd the outworks of his fortress;—
 Soon as they had him at their mercy, Part III. c. i.
 They put him to the cudgel fiercely. l. 1135-36. 1147-48.



THE LIFE
OF
SAMUEL BUTLER.

THE life of a retired scholar can furnish but little matter to the biographer: such was the character of Mr Samuel Butler, author of Hudibras. His father, whose name was likewise Samuel, had an estate of his own of about ten pounds yearly, which still goes by the name of Butler's tenement; he likewise rented lands at three hundred pounds a year under Sir William Russel, lord of the manor of Strensham, in Worcestershire. He was a respectable farmer, wrote a clerk-like hand, kept the register, and managed all the business of the parish. From his landlord, near whose house he lived, the poet imbibed principles of loyalty, as Sir William was a most zealous royalist, and spent great part of his fortune in the cause, being the only person exempted from the benefit of the treaty, when Worcester surrendered to the parliament in the year 1646. Our poet's father was elected churchwarden of the parish the year before his son Samuel was born, and has entered his baptism, dated February 8th, 1612, with his own hand, in the parish register. He had four sons and three daughters, born at Strensham; the three daughters and one son older than our poet, and two sons younger: none of his descendants, however, remain in the parish, though some are said to be in the neighbouring villages.

Our author received his first rudiments of learning at home; but was afterwards sent to the college school at Worcester, then taught by Mr Henry Bright,* prebendary

* Mr Bright is buried in the cathedral church of Worcester, near the north pillar, at the foot of the steps which lead to the choir. He was born

of that cathedral, a celebrated scholar, and many years master of the King's school there; one who made his profession his delight, and, though in very easy circumstances, continued to teach for the sake of doing good.

How long Mr Butler continued under his care is not known, but, probably, till he was fourteen years old. There can be little doubt that his progress was rapid, for Aubrey tells us that "when but a boy he would make observations and reflections on everything one said or did, and censure it to be either well or ill;" and we are also informed in the Biography of 1710 (the basis of all information about him), that he "became an excellent scholar." Amongst his school-fellows was Thomas Hall, well known as a controversial writer on the Puritan side, and master of the free-school at King's Norton, where he died; John Toy, afterwards an author, and master of the school at Worcester; William Rowland, who turned Romanist, and, having some talent for rhyming satire, wrote lampoons at Paris, under the title of *Rolandus Palingenius*; and Wärmestry, afterwards Dean of Worcester.

1562, appointed schoolmaster 1586, made prebendary 1619, died 1626. The inscription in capitals, on a mural stone, now placed in what is called the Bishop's Chapel, is as follows:

Mane hospes et lege,
Magister HENRICUS BRIGHT,
Celeberrimus gymnasiarcha,
Qui scholæ regiæ istic fundatæ per totos 40 annos
summa cum laude præfuit,
Quo non alter magis sedulus fuit, scitusve, ac dexter,
in Latinis Græcis Hebraicis litteris,
feliciter edocendis:
Teste utraque academia quam instruxit affatim
numerosa plebe literaria:
Sed et totidem annis eoque amplius theologiam professus,
Et hujus ecclesiæ per septennium canonicus major,
Sæpissime hic et alibi sacrum Dei præconem
magno cum zelo et fructu egit.
Vir pius, doctus, integer, frugi, de republica
deque ecclesia optime meritus.
A laboribus per diu noctuque
ad 1626 strenue usque exantlatis
4º Martii suaviter requievit
in Domino.

See this epitaph, written by Dr Joseph Hall, dean of Worcester, in Fuller's Worthies, p. 177.

Whether he was ever entered at any university is uncertain. His early biographer says he went to Cambridge, but was never matriculated: Wood, on the authority of Butler's brother, says, the poet spent six or seven years there; but there is great reason to doubt the truth of this. Some expressions in his works look as if he were acquainted with the customs of Oxford, and among them coursing, which was a term peculiar to that university (see Part III. c. ii. v. 1244); but this kind of knowledge might have been easily acquired without going to Oxford; and as the speculation is entirely unsupported by circumstantial proofs, it may be safely rejected. Upon the whole, the probability is that Butler never went to either of the Universities. His father was not rich enough to defray the expenses of a collegiate course, and could not have effected it by any other means, there being at that time no exhibitions at the Worcester School.

Some time after Butler had completed his education, he obtained, through the interest of the Russels, the situation of clerk to Thomas Jefferies, of Earl's Croombe, Esq., an active justice of the peace, and a leading man in the business of the province. This was no mean office, but one that required a knowledge of law and the British constitution, and a proper deportment to men of every rank and occupation; besides, in those times, when large mansions were generally in retired situations, every large family was a community within itself: the upper servants, or retainers, being often the younger sons of gentlemen, were treated as friends, and the whole household dined in one common hall, and had a lecturer or clerk, who, during meal-times, read to them some useful or entertaining book.

Mr Jefferies' family was of this sort, situated in a retired part of the country, surrounded by bad roads, the master of it residing constantly in Worcestershire. Here Mr Butler, having leisure to indulge his inclination for learning, probably improved himself very much, not only in the abstruser branches of it, but in the polite arts: and here he studied painting. "Our Hogarth of Poetry," says Walpole, "was a painter too;" and, according to Aubrey, his love of the pencil introduced him to the friendship of that prince of painters, Samuel Cooper. But his proficiency seems to have

been but moderate, for Mr Nash tells us that he recollects "seeing at Earl's Croombe, some portraits said to be painted by him, which did him no great honour as an artist, and were consequently used to stop up windows." * He heard also of a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, said to be painted by him.

After continuing some time at Earl's Croombe, how long is not exactly known, he quitted it for a more agreeable situation in the household of Elizabeth Countess of Kent, who lived at Wrest, in Bedfordshire. He seems to have been attached to her service, † as one of her gentlemen, to whom she is said to have paid £20 a year each. The time when he entered upon this situation, which Aubrey says he held for several years, may be determined with some degree of accuracy by the fact that he found Selden there, and was frequently engaged by him in writing letters and making translations. It was in June, 1628, after the prorogation of the third parliament of Charles I., that Selden, who sat in the House of Commons for Lancaster, retired to Wrest for the purpose of completing, with the advantages of quiet and an extensive library, his labours on the *Marmora Arundeliana*; and we may presume that it was during the interval of the parliamentary recess, while Selden was thus occupied, that Butler, then in his seventeenth year, entered her service. Here he enjoyed a literary retreat during great part of the civil wars, and here probably laid the groundwork of his Hudibras, as, besides the society of that living library, Selden, he had the benefit of a good collection of books. He lived

* In his MS. common-place book is the following observation :

"It is more difficult, and requires a greater mastery of art in painting, to foreshorten a figure exactly, than to draw three at their just length; so it is, in writing, to express anything naturally and briefly, than to enlarge and dilate :

And therefore a judicious author's blots
Are more ingenious than his first free thoughts."

† The Countess is described by the early biographer of Butler as "a great encourager of learning." After the death of the Earl of Kent in 1639 Selden is said to have been domesticated with her at Wrest, and in her town-house in White Friars. Aubrey affirms that he was married to her, but that he never acknowledged the marriage till after her death, on account of some law affairs. The Countess died in 1651, and appointed Selden her executor, leaving him her house in White Friars.

subsequently in the service of Sir Samuel Luke, of Cople Hoo farm, or Wood End, in that county, and his biographers are generally of opinion that from him he drew the character of Hudibras: * but there is no actual evidence of this, and such a prototype was not rare in those times. Sir Samuel Luke lived at Wood End, or Cople Hoo farm. Cople is three miles south of Bedford, and in its church are still to be seen many monuments of the Luke family, who flourished in that part of the country as early as the reign of Henry VIII. He was knighted in 1624, was a rigid Presbyterian, high in the favour of Cromwell: a colonel in the army of the parliament, a justice of the peace for Bedford and Surrey, scoutmaster-general for Bedfordshire, which he represented in the Long Parliament, and governor of Newport Pagnell. He possessed ample estates in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, and devoted his fortune to the promotion of the popular cause. His house was the open resort of the Puritans, whose frequent meetings for the purposes of counsel, prayer, and preparation for the field, afforded Butler an opportunity of observing, under all their phases of inspiration and action, the characters of the men whose influence was working a revolution in the country. But Sir Samuel did not approve of the king's trial and execution, and therefore, with other Presbyterians, both he and his father, Sir Oliver, were among the secluded members. It has been generally supposed that the scenes Butler witnessed on these occasions suggested to him the subject of his great poem. That it was at this period he threw into shape some of the striking points of *Hudibras*, is extremely probable. He kept a commonplace book, in which he was in the habit of noting down particular thoughts and fugitive criticisms; and Mr Thyer, the editor of his *Remains*, who had this book in his possession, says that it was full of shrewd remarks, paradoxes, and witty sarcasms.

The first part of *Hudibras* came out at the end of the year 1662, and its popularity was so great, that it was pirated almost as soon as it appeared.† In the *Mercurius Aulicus*,

* See notes at page 4.

† The first part was ready November 11th, 1662, when the author obtained an imprimatur, signed J. Berkenhead; but the date of the title is 1663, and Sir Roger L'Estrange granted an imprimatur for the second part, dated November 5th, 1663.

a ministerial newspaper, from January 1st to January 8th, 1662 (1663 N. S.), quarto, is an advertisement saying, that "there is stolen abroad a most false and imperfect copy of a poem called *Hudibras*, without name either of printer or bookseller; the true and perfect edition, printed by the author's original, is sold by Richard Marriot, near St Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street; that other nameless impression is a cheat, and will but abuse the buyer, as well as the author, whose poem deserves to have fallen into better hands." After several other editions had followed, the first and second parts, *with notes to both parts*, were printed for J. Martin and H. Herringham, octavo, 1674. The last edition of the third part, before the author's death, was published by the same persons in 1678: this must be the last corrected by himself, and is that from which subsequent editions are generally printed; the third part had no notes put to it during the author's life, and who furnished them (in 1710) after his death is not known.

In the British Museum is the original injunction by authority, signed John Berkenhead, forbidding any printer or other person whatsoever, to print *Hudibras*, or any part thereof, without the consent or approbation of Samuel Butler (or Boteler), Esq. or his assignees, given at Whitehall, 10th September, 1677: copy of this injunction is given in the note.*

The reception of *Hudibras* at Court is probably without a parallel in the history of books. The king was so enchanted with it that he carried it about in his pocket, and perpetually garnished his conversation with specimens of its witty passages, which, thus stamped by royal approbation, passed rapidly into general currency. Nor was his Majesty

* CHARLES R. Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and command, that no printer, bookseller, stationer, or other person whatsoever within our kingdom of England or Ireland, do print, reprint, utter or sell, or cause to be printed, reprinted, uttered or sold, a book or poem called HUDIBRAS, or any part thereof, without the consent and approbation of Samuel Boteler, Esq. or his assignees, as they and every of them will answer the contrary at their perils. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1677, and in the 29th year of our reign. By his Majesty's command,
Jo. BERKENHEAD.

Miscel. Papers, Mus. Brit. Bibl. Birch, No. 4293.

content with merely quoting Butler ; in an access of enthusiasm he sent for him, that he might gratify his curiosity by the sight of a poet who had contributed so largely to his amusement. The Lord Chancellor Hyde showered promises of patronage upon him, and hung up his portrait in his library.* Every person about the Court considered it his duty to make himself familiar with *Hudibras*. It was minted into proverbs and bon mots. No book was so much read. No book was so much cited. From the palace it found its way at once into the chocolate-houses and taverns ; and attained a rapid popularity all over the kingdom.

Lord Dorset was so much struck by its extraordinary merit that he desired to be introduced to the author. "His lordship," according to this curious anecdote, "having a great desire to spend an evening as a private gentleman with the author of *Hudibras*, prevailed with Mr Fleetwood Shepherd to introduce him into his company at a tavern which they used, in the character only of a common friend ; this being done, Mr Butler, while the first bottle was drinking, appeared very flat and heavy ; at the second bottle brisk and lively, full of wit and learning, and a most agreeable companion ; but before the third bottle was finished, he sunk again into such deep stupidity and dulness, that hardly anybody would have believed him to be the author of a book which abounded with so much wit, learning, and pleasantry. Next morning, Mr Shepherd asked his lordship's opinion of Butler, who answered, 'He is like a nine-pin, little at both ends, but great in the middle.'

Pepys gives us a curious illustration of the sudden and extraordinary success of *Hudibras*, and the excitement it occasioned in the reading world. See *Memoirs*, (Bohn's edit.) vol. i. p. 364, 380 ; vol. ii. p. 68, 72.

* AUBREY says, "Butler printed a witty poem called *Hudibras*, which took extremely, so that the King and Lord Chancellor Hyde would have him sent for. They both promised him great matters, but to this day he has got no employment." EVELYN, writing to Pepys in August, 1689, speaks of Butler's portrait as being hung in the Chancellor's dining-room ; "and, what was most agreeable to his lordship's general humour, old Chaucer, Shakspeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, who were both in one piece, Spenser, Mr Waller, Cowley, *Hudibras*, which last was placed in the room where he used to eat and dine in public, most of which, if not all, are at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire.'

It was natural to suppose, that after the Restoration, and the publication of his *Hudibras*, our poet should have appeared in public life, and have been rewarded for the eminent service which his poem, by giving new popularity to the Cavalier party, and covering their enemies with derision and contempt, did to the royal cause. "Every eye," says Dr Johnson, "watched for the golden shower which was to fall upon its author, who certainly was not without his part in the general expectation." But his innate modesty, and studious turn of mind, prevented solicitations: never having tasted the idle luxuries of life, he did not make for himself needless wants, or pine after imaginary pleasures: his fortune, indeed, was small, and so was his ambition; his integrity of life, and modest temper, rendered him contented. There is good authority for believing, however, that at one time he was gratified with an order on the treasury for 300*l.* which is said to have passed all the offices without payment of fees, and this gave him an opportunity of displaying his disinterested integrity, by conveying the entire sum immediately to a friend, in trust for the use of his creditors. Dr Zachary Pearce, on the authority of Mr Lowndes of the treasury, asserts, that Mr Butler received from Charles the Second an annual pension of 100*l.*; add to this, he was appointed secretary to the Earl of Carberry, then lord president of the principality of Wales, and soon after steward of Ludlow castle,* an office which he seems to have held in 1661 and 1662, but possibly earlier and later. With all this, the Court was thought to have been guilty of a glaring neglect in his case, and the public were scandalized at its ingratitude. The indigent poets, who have always claimed a prescriptive right to live on the munificence of their contemporaries, were the loudest in their remonstrances. Dryden, Oldham, and Otway, while in appearance they complained of the unrewarded merits of our author, obliquely lamented their private and particular grievances. Nash says that Mr Butler's own sense of the disappointment, and the impression it made on his spirits, are sufficiently marked by the circumstance of his having twice transcribed the following distich with some variation in his MS. common-place book:

* It was at Ludlow Castle that Milton's *Comus* was first acted.

To think how Spenser died, how Cowley mourn'd,
How Butler's faith and service were return'd.

In the same MS. he says, "Wit is very chargeable, and not to be maintained in its necessary expenses at an ordinary rate: it is the worst trade in the world to live upon, and a commodity that no man thinks he has need of, for those who have least believe they have most."

——— Ingenuity and wit
Do only make the owners fit
For nothing, but to be undone
Much easier than if th' had none.

But a recent biographer controverts this, and takes a more probable view of it: he says, "The assumption of Butler's poverty appears utterly unfounded. Though not wealthy, he seems, as far as we can judge, to have always lived in comfort, and we know from the statement of Mr Longueville that he died out of debt. Butler was not one of those

Who hoped to make their fortune by the great ;

and though no doubt he might have felt he had not been rewarded according to his deserts by his party, he was not entirely neglected. He had received a large share of popular applause, and was probably prouder of that, and of the power of castigating the follies and vices of mankind, even when displayed by those of his own party, than of being a more highly pensioned dependant of a Court that his writings show he despised. He was no 'needy wretch' in want of bread or a dinner ; his earliest biographer gives no hint of his distress ; he enjoyed friends of his own selection, and the injunction designates him as 'esquire,' a title not altogether so indiscriminately applied as at the present time. The only foundation for the assertion of his poverty consists in his having copied twice, in his common-place book, a distich from the prologue to the tragedy of Constantine the Great, said to have been written by Otway, though it was not acted till 1684, four years after Butler's death. It is supposed he might have seen the MS., or perhaps only heard the thought, as his copies vary from each other and from the lines as they ultimately appeared. It was, however, long the fashion to complain of

the scanty reward bestowed on literary pursuits; yet we are inclined to think, though authors had then a less certain support in the patronage of a few than now when they appeal to a numerous public, that the improvidence of the individual was more to blame than the niggardliness of the patrons, and of this improvidence there does not appear to be the slightest ground for accusing Butler."

Mr Butler spent some time in France, it is supposed when Lewis XIV. was in the height of his glory and vanity, but neither the language nor manners of Paris were pleasing to our modest poet. As some of his observations are amusing, they are inserted in a note.* About

* "The French use so many words, upon all occasions, that if they did not cut them short in pronunciation, they would grow tedious, and insufferable.

"They infinitely affect rhyme, though it becomes their language the worst in the world, and spoils the little sense they have to make room for it, and make the same syllable rhyme to itself, which is worse than metal upon metal in heraldry: they find it much easier to write plays in verse than in prose, for it is much harder to imitate nature, than any deviation from her; and prose requires a more proper and natural sense and expression than verse, that has something in the stamp and coin to answer for the alloy and want of intrinsic value. I never came among them, but the following line was in my mind:

Raucaque garrulitas, studiumque inane loquendi;

for they talk so much, they have not time to think; and if they had all the wit in the world, their tongues would run before it.

"The present king of France is building a most stately triumphal arch in memory of his victories, and the great actions which he has performed: but, if I am not mistaken, those edifices which bear that name at Rome were not raised by the emperors whose names they bear (such as Trajan, Titus, &c.), but were decreed by the Senate, and built at the expense of the public; for that glory is lost which any man designs to consecrate to himself.

"The king takes a very good course to weaken the city of Paris by adorning of it, and to render it less by making it appear greater and more glorious; for he pulls down whole streets to make room for his palaces and public structures.

"There is nothing great or magnificent in all the country, that I have seen, but the buildings and furniture of the king's houses and the churches; all the rest is mean and paltry.

"The king is necessitated to lay heavy taxes upon his subjects in his own defence, and to keep them poor in order to keep them quiet; for if they are suffered to enjoy any plenty, they are naturally so insolent, that they would become ungovernable, and use him as they have done his predecessors: but he has rendered himself so strong, that they have no thoughts of attempting anything in his time.

this time, he married Mrs Herbert, a lady reputed to be of good family, but whether she was a widow, or not, is uncertain, as the evidence is conflicting. With her he expected a considerable fortune, but, through the greater part of it having been put out on bad security, and other losses, occasioned; it is said, by knavery, it was of but little advantage to him. To this some have attributed his severe strictures upon the professors of the law; but, if his censures be properly considered, they will be found to bear hard only upon the disgraceful part of the profession, and upon false learning in general.

How long he continued in office, as steward of Ludlow Castle, is not known, but there is no evidence of his having exercised it after 1662. Anthony a Wood, on the authority of Aubrey, says that he became secretary to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, when he was Chancellor of Cambridge, but this is doubted by Grey, who nevertheless allows the Duke to have been his frequent benefactor. That both these assertions are false there is reason to suspect from a story told by Packe in his *Life of Wycherley*, as well as from Butler's character of the Duke, which will be found on next page. The story is this: "Mr Wycherley had always laid hold of any opportunity which offered of representing to the Duke of Buckingham how well Mr Butler had deserved of the royal family by writing his inimitable *Hudibras*; and that it was a reproach to the Court, that a person of his loyalty and wit should suffer in obscurity and want. The Duke seemed always to listen to him with attention enough; and after some time undertook to recommend his pretensions to his Majesty. Mr Wycherley, in hopes to keep him steady to his word, obtained of his Grace to name a day when he might introduce that modest and unfortunate poet to

"The churchmen overlook all other people as haughtily as the churches and steeples do private houses.

"The French do nothing without ostentation, and the king himself is not behind with his triumphal arches consecrated to himself, and his impress of the sun, nec pluribus impar.

"The French king, having copies of the best pictures from Rome, is as a great prince wearing clothes at second-hand: the king in his prodigious charge of buildings and furniture does the same thing to himself that he means to do by Paris, renders himself weaker by endeavouring to appear the more magnificent; lets go the substance for the shadow."

his new patron. At last, an appointment was made, and the place of meeting was agreed to be the Roebuck. Mr Butler and his friend attended accordingly: the Duke joined them; but as the devil would have it, the door of the room where they sat was open, and his Grace, who had seated himself near it, observing a pimp of his acquaintance (the creature too was a knight) trip along with a brace of ladies, immediately quitted his engagement, to follow another kind of business, at which he was more ready than in doing good offices to those of desert, though no one was better qualified than he was, both in regard to his fortune and understanding. From that time to the day of his death, poor Butler never found the least effect of his promise." The character drawn by the poet of the Duke of Buckingham, which we annex in a note,* will be conclusive that he was not likely to have received any favour at his hands.

* "A Duke of Bucks is one that has studied the whole body of vice. His parts are disproportionate, and, like a monster, he has more of some and less of others than he should have. He has pulled down all that fabric which nature raised to him, and built himself up again after a model of his own. He has dammed up all those lights that nature made into the noblest prospects of the world, and opened other little blind loopholes backwards, by turning day into night, and night into day. His appetite to his pleasures is diseased and crazy, like the pica in a woman, that longs to eat what was never made for food, or a girl in the green sickness, that eats chalk and mortar. Perpetual surfeits of pleasure have filled his mind with bad and vicious humours (as well as his body with a nursery of diseases), which makes him affect new and extravagant ways, as being tired and sick of the old. Continual wine, women, and music put false values upon things, which by custom become habitual, and debauch his understanding, so that he retains no right notion nor sense of things. And as the same dose of the same physic has no operation on those that are much used to it, so his pleasures require a larger proportion of excess and variety to render him sensible of them. He rises, eats, and goes to bed by the Julian account, long after all others that go by the new style; and keeps the same hours with owls and the antipodes. He is a great observer of the Tartars' customs, and never eats till the great Cham, having dined, makes proclamation that all the world may go to dinner. He does not dwell in his house, but haunt it, like an evil spirit that walks all night to disturb the family, and never appears by day. He lives perpetually benighted, runs out of his life, and loses his time, as men do their ways, in the dark; and as blind men are led by their dogs, so he is governed by some mean servant or other that relates to him his pleasures. He is as inconstant as the moon, which he lives under; and, although he does nothing but advise with his pillow all day, he is as great a stranger to himself as he is to the rest of the world. His mind entertains all things very freely, that come

Notwithstanding discouragement and neglect, Butler still prosecuted his design, and in 1678, after an interval of nearly 15 years, published the third part of his *Hudibras*, which closes the poem somewhat abruptly. With this came out *the Epistle to the Lady*, and *the Lady's Answer*. How much more he originally intended, and with what events the action was to be concluded, it is vain to conjecture. After this period, we hear nothing of him till his death at the age of 68, which took place on the 25th of November, 1680, in Rose Street,* Covent Garden, where he had for some years resided. He was buried at the expense of Mr William Longueville, though he did not die in debt. This gentleman, with other of his friends, wished to have him interred in Westminster Abbey with proper solemnity; but endeavoured in vain to obtain a sufficient subscription for that purpose. His corpse was deposited privately six feet deep, according to his own request, in the yard belonging to the church of Saint Paul's, Covent Garden, at the west end of it, on the north side, under the wall of the church, and under that wall which parts the yard from the common highway. The burial service was performed by the learned Dr Patrick, then minister of the parish, and afterwards Bishop of Ely. In the year 1786, when the church was repaired, a marble monument was placed on the south side of the church on the inside,† by some of the parishioners, whose zeal for the memory of the learned poet does them honour: but the writer of the verses seems to have

and go; but, like guests and strangers, they are not welcome if they stay long. This lays him open to all cheats, quacks, and impostors, who apply to every particular humour while it lasts, and afterwards vanish. Thus with St Paul, though in a different sense, he dies daily, and only lives in the night. He deforms nature, while he intends to adorn her, like Indians that hang jewels in their lips and noses. His ears are perpetually drilled with a fiddlestick. He endures pleasures with less patience than other men do pains."

* A narrow and now rather obscure street, which runs circuitously from King Street, Covent Garden, to Long Acre. The site of the house is not now known. Curl the bookseller carried on his business here at the same time, and Dryden lived within a stone's throw in Long Acre, "over against Rose Street."

† This monument was a tablet, which of late years was affixed under the vestry-room window in that part of the church-yard where his body is supposed to lie. In 1854, when the church-yard was closed against further burials, the tablet, then in a dilapidated condition, was carted away with other debris.

mistaken the character of Mr Butler. The inscription runs thus :

“This little monument was erected in the year 1786, by some of the parishioners of Covent Garden, in memory of the celebrated Samuel Butler, who was buried in this church, A. D. 1680.

A few plain men, to pomp and state unknown,
O'er a poor bard have rais'd this humble stone,
Whose wants alone his genius could surpass,
Victim of zeal! the matchless Hudibras!
What though fair freedom suffer'd in his page,
Reader, forgive the author for the age!
How few, alas! disdain to cringe and cant,
When 'tis the mode to play the sycophant.
But, oh! let all be taught, from Butler's fate,
Who hope to make their fortunes by the great,
That wit and pride are always dangerous things,
And little faith is due to courts and kings.”

Forty years after his burial at Covent Garden, that is, in 1721, John Barber, an eminent printer, and Lord Mayor of London, erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, with the following inscription :

M. S.

Samuelis Butler

Qui Strenshamiae in agro Vigorn. natus 1612,
Obiit Lond. 1680.

Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer,
Operibus ingenii non item praemiis felix.
Satyrici apud nos carminis artifex egregius,
Qui simulate religionis larvam detraxit
Et perduellium scelera liberrime exagitavit,
Scriptorum in suo genere primus et postremus.
Ne cui vivo deerant fere omnia
Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus
Hoc tandem posito marmore curavit
Johannes Barber civis Londinensis 1721.*

* Translation. — Sacred to the memory of Samuel Butler, who was born at Strensham, in Worcestershire, in 1612, and died in London, in 1680, — a man of great learning, acuteness, and integrity; happy in the productions of his intellect, not so in the remuneration of them; a super-eminent master of satirical poetry, by which he lifted the mask of hypocrisy, and boldly exposed the crimes of faction. As a writer, he was the first and last in his peculiar style. John Barber, a citizen of London, in 1721, by at length erecting this marble, took care that he, who wanted almost everything when alive, might not also want a tomb when dead. *For an Engraving of the Monument, see Dart's Westminster Abbey, vol. i. plate 3.*

On the latter part of this epitaph the ingenious Mr Samuel Wesley wrote the following lines :

While Butler, needy wretch, was yet alive,
 No generous patron would a dinner give ;
 See him, when starv'd to death, and turn'd to dust,
 Presented with a monumental bust.
 The poet's fate is here in emblem shown,
 He ask'd for bread, and he received a stone.

Soon after this monument was erected in Westminster Abbey, some persons proposed to erect one in Covent Garden church, for which Mr Dennis wrote the following inscription :

Near this place lies interr'd
 The body of Mr Samuel Butler,
 Author of Hudibras.
 He was a whole species of poets in one :
 Admirable in a manner
 In which no one else has been tolerable :
 A manner which begun and ended in him,
 In which he knew no guide,
 And has found no followers.
 Nat. 1612. Ob. 1680.

While in London, where Butler died, these tributes to his genius were set up at intervals by men of opposite principles, the place of his birth remained without any memorial until within the last few years, when a white marble tablet, with florid canopy, crockets, and finial, was placed in the parish church of Strensham, by John Taylor, of Strensham Court, Esq., upon whose estate the poet was born. In the design is a small figure of Hudibras, and the face of the tablet bears the following simple inscription :

“ This tablet was erected to the memory of Samuel Butler, to transmit to future ages that near this spot was born a mind so celebrated. In Westminster Abbey, among the poets of England, his fame is recorded. Here, in his native village, in veneration of his talents and genius, this tribute to his memory has been erected by the possessor of the place of his birth—John Taylor, Strensham.”

What became of the lady he married is unknown, as there is no subsequent trace of her ; but it is presumed she died before him. Mr Gilfillan assumes that “ subscriptions were raised for his widow,” but gives no authority, and we believe none exists.

“Hudibras (says Mr Nash) is Mr Butler’s capital work, and though the Characters, Poems, Thoughts, &c. published as Remains by Mr Thyer, in two volumes octavo, are certainly written by the same masterly hand, though they abound with lively sallies of wit, and display a copious variety of erudition, yet the nature of the subjects, their not having received the author’s last corrections, and many other reasons which might be given, render them less acceptable to the present taste of the public, which no longer relishes the antiquated mode of writing characters, cultivated when Butler was young, by men of genius, such as Bishop Earle and Mr Cleveland.

The three small volumes, entitled Posthumous Works, in prose and verse, by Mr Samuel Butler, author of Hudibras, printed 1715, 1716, 1717, are all spurious, except the Pindaric Ode on Duval the highwayman, and one or two of the prose pieces. Mr Nash says, “As to the MSS. which after Mr Butler’s death came into the hands of Mr Longueville, and from which Mr Thyer published his Genuine Remains in the year 1759; what remain unpublished are either in the hands of the ingenious Doctor Farmer of Cambridge, or myself. For Mr Butler’s Common-place Book, mentioned by Mr Thyer, I am indebted to the liberal and public-spirited James Massey, Esq., of Rosthern, near Knotsford, Cheshire.”

The poet’s frequent and correct use of law terms* is a sufficient proof that he was well versed in that science: but if further evidence were wanting, says Mr Nash, “I can produce a MS. purchased of some of our poet’s relations, at the Hay, in Brecknockshire, which appears to be a collection of legal cases and principles, regularly related from Lord Coke’s Commentary on Littleton’s Tenures. The language is Norman, or law French, and the authorities in the margin of the MS. correspond exactly with those given on the same positions in the first institute: The first book of the MS. ends with the 84th section, which same number of sections also terminates the first institute; and the second book is entitled *Le second livre del premier part del Institutes de Ley d’Angleterre*. It may, therefore, reasonably be presumed to have been compiled by Butler solely from Coke

* Butler is said to have been a member of Gray’s-inn, and of a club with Cleveland and other wits inclined to the royal cause.

upon Littleton, with no other object than to impress strongly on his mind the sense of that author; and written in Norman, to familiarize himself with the barbarous language in which the learning of the common law of England was at that period almost uniformly expressed.

“As another instance of the poet’s great industry, I have a French dictionary, compiled and transcribed by him: thus our ancestors, with great labour, drew truth and learning out of deep wells, whereas our modern scholars only skim the surface, and pilfer a superficial knowledge from encyclopædias and reviews. It doth not appear that he ever wrote for the stage, though I have, in his MS. common-place book, part of an unfinished tragedy, entitled Nero.”

Concerning Hudibras there is but one sentiment. The admirable fecundity of wit, and the infinite variety of knowledge, displayed throughout the poem have been universally admitted. Dr Johnson well expresses the general sense of all its readers when he says, “If inexhaustible wit could give perpetual pleasure, no eye would ever leave half read the work of Butler; for what poet has ever brought so many remote images so happily together? It is scarcely possible to peruse a page without finding some association of images that was never found before. By the first paragraph the reader is amused, by the next he is delighted, and by a few more strained to astonishment; but astonishment is a toil-some pleasure; he is soon weary of wondering, and longs to be diverted.” And he adds, “Imagination is useless without knowledge; nature gives in vain the power of combination, unless study and observation supply materials to be combined. Butler’s treasures of knowledge appear proportioned to his experience: whatever topic employs his mind, he shows himself qualified to expand and illustrate it with all the accessaries that books can furnish: he is found not only to have travelled the beaten road, but the by-paths of literature; not only to have taken general surveys, but to have examined particulars with minute inspection.”

Various have been the attempts to define or describe the wit and humour of this celebrated poem; the greatest English writers have tried in vain, Cowley,* Barrow,† Dryden,‡

* In his Ode on Wit,—† In his Sermon against Foolish Talking and Jestings,—‡ In his Preface to an Opera called the State of Innocence

Locke,* Addison,† Pope,‡ and Congreve, all failed in their attempts; perhaps they are more to be felt than explained, and to be understood rather from example than precept. "If any one," says Nash, "wishes to know what wit and humour are, let him read *Hudibras* with attention, he will there see them displayed in the brightest colours: there is brilliancy resulting from the power of rapid illustration by remote contingent resemblances; propriety of words, and thoughts elegantly adapted to the occasion: objects which possess an affinity and congruity, or sometimes a contrast to each other, assembled with quickness and variety; in short, every ingredient of wit, or of humour, which critics have discovered, may be found in this poem. The reader may congratulate himself, that he is not destitute of taste to relish both, if he can read it with delight."

Hudibras is to an epic poem what a good farce is to a tragedy; persons advanced in years generally prefer the former, having met with tragedies enough in real life; whereas the comedy, or interlude, is a relief from anxious and disgusting reflections, and suggests such playful ideas, as wanton round the heart and enliven the very features.

The hero marches out in search of adventures, to suppress those sports, and punish those trivial offences, which the vulgar among the Royalists were fond of, but which the Presbyterians and Independents abhorred; and which our hero, as a magistrate of the former persuasion, thought it his duty officially to suppress. The diction is that of burlesque poetry, painting low and mean persons and things in pompous language and a magnificent manner, or sometimes leveling sublime and pompous passages to the standard of low imagery. The principal actions of the poem are four: *Hudibras's* victory over *Crowdero*—*Trulla's* victory over *Hudibras*—*Hudibras's* victory over *Sidrophel*—and the *Widow's* antimasquerade: the rest is made up of the adventures of the *Bear*, of the *Skimmington*, *Hudibras's* conversations with the *Lawyer* and *Sidrophel*, and his long disputations with *Ralpho* and the *Widow*. The verse consists of eight syllables, or four feet; a measure which, in unskilful hands, soon becomes

* *Essay on Human Understanding*, b. ii. c. 2.—† *Spectator*, No. 35 and 32.—‡ *Essay concerning Humour in Comedy*, and *Corbyn Morris's* *Essay on Wit, Humour, and Raillery*.

tiresome, and will ever be a dangerous snare to meaner and less masterly imitators.

The Scotch, the Irish, the American Hudibras, and a host of other imitations, are hardly worth mentioning; they only prove the excitement which this new species of poetry had occasioned; the translation into French, by Mr Towneley, an Englishman, is curious, it preserves the sense, but cannot keep up the humour. Prior seems to have come nearest the original, though he is sensible of his own inferiority, and says,

But, like poor Andrew, I advance,
False mimic of my master's dance;
Around the cord awhile I sprawl,
And thence, tho' low, in earnest fall.

His Alma is neat and elegant, and his versification superior to Butler's; but his learning, knowledge, and wit by no means equal. The spangles of wit which he could afford, he knew how to polish, but he wanted the bullion of his master. Hudibras, then, may truly be said to be the first and last satire of the kind; for if we examine Lucian's *Trago-podagra*, and other dialogues, the *Cæsars* of Julian, Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, or the mock deification of Claudius, and some fragments of Varro, they will be found very different: the *Batrachomyomachia*, or battle of the frogs and mice, commonly ascribed to Homer, and the *Margites*, generally allowed to be his, prove this species of poetry to be of great antiquity.

The inventor of the modern mock heroic was Alessandro Tassoni, born at Modena 1565. His *Secchia rapita*, or Rape of the Bucket, is founded on the popular account of the cause of the civil war between the inhabitants of Modena and Bologna, in the time of Frederick II. This bucket was long preserved, as a trophy, in the cathedral of Modena, suspended by the chain which fastened the gate of Bologna, through which the Modenese forced their passage, and seized the prize. It is written in the ottava rima, the solemn measure of the Italian heroic poets, and has considerable merit.

The next successful imitators of the mock-heroic have been Boileau, Garth, and Pope, whose respective works are too generally known, and too justly admired, to require, at this time, description or encomium.

Hudibras has been compared to the *Satyre Menippée*, first published in France in the year 1593. The subject indeed is somewhat similar, a violent civil war excited by religious zeal, and many good men made the dupes of state politicians. After the death of Henry III. of France, the Duke de Mayence called together the states of the kingdom, to elect a successor, there being many pretenders to the crown; the consequent intrigues were the foundation of the *Satyre Menippée*, so called from Menippus, an ancient cynic philosopher and rough satirist, introducer of the burlesque species of dialogue. In this work are unveiled the different views and interests of the several actors in those busy scenes, who, under the pretence of public good, consulted only their private advantage, passions, and prejudices. This book, which aims particularly at the Spanish party, went through various editions, from its first publication to 1726, when it was printed at Ratisbon in three volumes, with copious notes and index. In its day it was as much admired as Hudibras, and is still studied by antiquaries with delight. But this satire differs widely from our author's: like those of Varro, Seneca, and Julian, it is a mixture of verse and prose, and though it contains much wit, and Mr Butler had certainly read it with attention, yet he cannot be said to imitate it.

The reader will perceive that our poet had more immediately in view, Don Quixote, Spenser, the Italian poets, together with the Greek and Roman classics; * but very rarely, if ever, alludes to Milton, though Paradise Lost was published ten years before the third part of Hudibras.

Other sorts of burlesque have been published, such as the *Carmina Macaronica*, the *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*, *Cotton's Virgil Travesty*, &c., but these are efforts of genius of no great importance, and many burlesque and satirical pieces, prose and verse, were published in France between the year 1533 and 1660, by Rabelais, Scarron, and others.

* The editor has in his possession a copy of the first edition of the two parts of Hudibras, appended to which are about 100 pages of contemporary manuscript, indicating the particular passages of preceding writers which Butler is supposed to have had in view. Among the authors most frequently quoted are: Cervantes (Don Quixote), Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal and Persius, Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Suetonius, Justin, Tacitus, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, Plinii Historia Naturalis, and Erasmi adagia.

Hudibras operated wonderfully in beating down the hypocrisy and false patriotism of the time. Mr Hayley gives a character of the author in four lines with great propriety :

“Unrivall'd Butler! blest with happy skill
To heal by comic verse each serious ill,
By wit's strong flashes reason's light dispense,
And laugh a frantic nation into sense.”

For one great object of our poet's satire is to unmask the hypocrite, and to exhibit, in a light at once odious and ridiculous, the Presbyterians and Independents, and all other sects, which in our poet's days amounted to near two hundred, and were enemies to the king; but his further view was to banter all the false, and even all the suspicious, pretences to learning that prevailed in his time, such as astrology, sympathetic medicine, alchymy, transfusion of blood, trifling conceits in experimental philosophy, fortune-telling, incredible relations of travellers, false wit, and injudicious affectations of poets and romance writers. Thus he frequently alludes to Purchas's Pilgrimes, Sir Kenelm Digby's books, Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, Sir Thomas Brown's Vulgar Errors, Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Lilly's Astrology, and the early transactions of the Royal Society. These books were much read and admired in our author's days.

The adventure with the widow is introduced in conformity with other poets, both heroic and dramatic, who hold that no poem can be perfect which hath not at least one Episode of Love.

It is not worth while to inquire, if the characters painted under the fictitious names of Hudibras, Crowdero, Orsin, Talgol, Trulla, &c., were drawn from real life, or whether Sir Roger L'Estrange's key to Hudibras* be a true one. It matters not whether the hero were designed as the picture of Sir Samuel Luke, Colonel Rolls, or Sir Henry Rosewell; he is, in the language of Dryden, Knight of the Shire, and represents them all, that is, the whole body of the Presbyterians, as Ralpho does that of the Independents. It would be degrading the liberal spirit and universal genius of Mr Butler, to narrow his general satire to a particular libel on any characters, however marked and prominent. To a single rogue, or

* First published in 1714.

blockhead, he disdained to stoop; the vices and follies of the age in which he lived were the quarry at which he flew; these he concentrated, and embodied in the persons of Hudibras, Ralpho, Sidrophel, &c., so that each character in this admirable poem should be considered, not as an individual, but as a species.

Meanings still more remote and chimerical than mere personal allusions, have by some been discovered in Hudibras and the poem would have wanted one of those marks which distinguish works of superior merit, if it had not been supposed to be a perpetual allegory. Writers of eminence, Homer, Plato, and even the Holy Scriptures themselves, have been most wretchedly misrepresented by commentators of this cast. Thus some have thought that the hero of the piece was intended to represent the parliament, especially that part of it which favoured the Presbyterian discipline. When in the stocks, he is said to personate the Presbyterians after they had lost their power; his first exploit against the bear, whom he routs, is assumed to represent the parliament getting the better of the king; after this great victory he courts a widow for her jointure, which is supposed to mean the riches and power of the kingdom; being scorned by her, he retires, but the revival of hope to the Royalists, draws forth both him and his squire, a little before Sir George Booth's insurrection. Magnano, Cerdon, Talgol, &c., though described as butchers, cobblers, tinkers, are made to represent officers in the parliament army, whose original professions, perhaps, were not much more noble: some have imagined Magnano to be the Duke of Albemarle, and his getting thistles from a barren land, to allude to his power in Scotland, especially after the defeat of Booth. Trulla means his wife; Crowdero Sir George Booth, whose bringing in of Bruin alludes to his endeavours to restore the king; his oaken leg, called the better one, is the king's cause, his other leg the Presbyterian discipline; his fiddle-case, which in sport they hung as a trophy on the whipping-post, is the directory. Ralpho, they say, represents the Parliament of Independents, called Barebone's Parliament; Bruin is sometimes the royal person, sometimes the king's adherents: Orsin represents the royal party; Talgol the city of London; Colon the bulk of the people. All these joining together against the Knight, represent Sir George

Booth's conspiracy, with Presbyterians and Royalists, against the parliament: their overthrow, through the assistance of Ralph, means the defeat of Booth by the assistance of the Independents and other fanatics. These ideas are, perhaps, only the frenzy of a wild imagination, though there may be some lines that seem to favour the conceit.

Dryden and Addison have censured Butler for his double rhymes; the latter nowhere argues worse than upon this subject: "If," says he, "the thought in the couplet be good, the rhymes add little to it; and if bad, it will not be in the power of rhyme to recommend it; I am afraid that great numbers of those who admire the incomparable Hudibras, do it more on account of these doggrel rhymes, than the parts that really deserve admiration."* This reflection affects equally all sorts of rhyme, which certainly can add nothing to the sense; but double rhymes are like the whimsical dress of Harlequin, which does not add to his wit, but sometimes increases the humour and drollery of it: they are not sought for, but, when they come easily, are always diverting: they are so seldom found in Hudibras, as hardly to be an object of censure, especially as the diction and the rhyme both suit well with the character of the hero.

It must be allowed that our poet does not exhibit his hero with the dignity of Cervantes: but the principal fault of the poem is, that the parts are unconnected, and the story deficient in sustained interest; the reader may leave off without being anxious for the fate of his hero; he sees only *disjecti membra poetæ*; but we should remember that the parts were published at long intervals,† and that several of the different cantos were designed as satires on different subjects or extravagancies.

Fault has likewise been found, and perhaps justly, with Butler's too frequent elisions, the harshness of his numbers, and the omission of the signs of substantives; his inattention to grammar and syntax, which in some passages obscures his meaning; and the perplexity which sometimes arises from the amazing fruitfulness of his imagination, and extent

* Spectator, No. 60.

† The Epistle to Sidrophel, not till many years after the canto to which it is annexed.

of his reading. Most writers have more words than ideas, and the reader wastes much pains with them, and gets little information or amusement. Butler, on the contrary, has more ideas than words; his wit and learning crowd so fast upon him, that he cannot find room or time to arrange them: hence his periods become sometimes embarrassed and obscure, and his dialogues too long. Our poet has been charged with obscenity, evil-speaking, and profaneness; but satirists will take liberties. Juvenal, and that elegant poet Horace, must plead his cause, so far as the accusation is well founded.

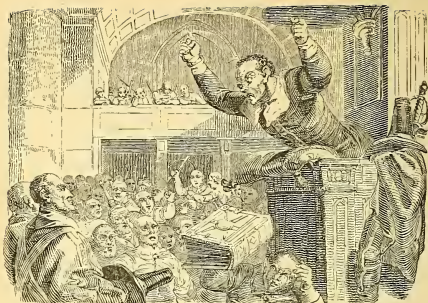
In the preceding memoir, Dr Nash, the latest and most authentic of Butler's biographers, has been our principal guide; the reader who is desirous of a more critical and elaborate, though sometimes unjustly severe, view of the poem and the poet, will turn without disappointment to the eloquent pages of Dr Johnson.





H U D I B R A S .

PART I. CANTO I.



THE ARGUMENT.

Sir HUDIBRAS ¹ his passing worth,
 The manner how he sallied forth,
 His arms and equipage, are shown ;
 His horse's virtues and his own.
 Th' adventure of the bear and fiddle
 Is sung, but breaks off in the middle.²

¹ Butler probably took the name of Hudibras from Spencer's *Fairy Queen*, B. ii. C. ii. St. 17.

He that made love unto the eldest dame
 Was hight Sir Hudibras, an hardy man ;
 Yet not so good of deeds, as great of name,
 Which he by many rash adventures wan,
 Since errant arms to sew he first began.

Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions a British king of th's name, as living about the time of Solomon, and reigning 39 years. He is said to have composed all the dissensions among his people. Others have supposed it derived from the French, Hugo, or Hu de Bras, signifying Hugh with the strong arm : thus Fortinbras, Firebras.

In the *Grub-street Journal*, Col. Rolls, a Devonshire gentleman, is said to be satirized under the character of Hudibras ; and it is asserted, that Hugh de Bras was the name of the old tutelary saint of that county ; Dr Grey had been informed, on credible authority, that the person intended was Sir Henry Rosewell, of Ford Abbey, Devonshire ; but it is idle to look for personal reflections in a poem designed for a general satire on hypocrisy, enthusiasm, and false learning. There is no doubt, however, that Sir Samuel Luke, of Bedfordshire, is the likeliest hero. See lines 15 and 902.

² A ridicule on Ronsard's *Franciade*, and Sir William Davenant's *Gondibert*, both unfinished.



WHEN civil dudgeon¹ first grew high,
 And men fell out, they knew not why;²
 When hard words,³ jealousies, and fears⁴
 Set folks together by the ears,
 And made them fight, like mad or drunk, 5
 For dame Religion as for Punk;

Whose honesty they all durst swear for,
 Tho' not a man of them knew wherefore:
 When Gospel-Trumpeter, surrounded⁵
 With long-ear'd⁶ rout, to battle sounded, 10

¹ To take *in dudgeon* is inwardly to resent some injury or affront, a sort of grumbling in the gizzard (as Tom Hood has said), and what is previous to actual fury. It was altered by Mr Butler, in his edition of 1674, to civil fury, and so stood until 1700. But the original word was restored in 1704, and has been adopted, with two or three recent exceptions, ever since; and it unquestionably is most in keeping with the character of the poem. Dudgeon in its primitive sense is a dagger, and is so used towards the close of the present canto.

² It may be justly said they knew not why, since, as Lord Clarendon observes, "The like peace and plenty, and universal tranquillity, was never enjoyed by any nation for ten years together, before those unhappy troubles began."

³ The jargon and cant-words used by the Presbyterians and other sectaries, such as gospel-walking-times, soul-saving, carnal-minded, carryings-on, workings-out, committee-dom, &c. They called themselves the elect, 'he saints, the predestinated, and their opponents Papists, Prelatists, reprobrates, &c. &c. They set the people against the Common-prayer, which they asserted was the mass-book in English, and nicknamed it Porridge; and enraged them against the surplice, calling it a rag of Popery, the whore of Babylon's smock, and the smock of the whore of Rome.

⁴ Jealousies and fears were words bandied between Charles I. and the parliament in all their papers, before the absolute breaking out of the war. They were used by the parliament to the king, in their petition for the militia, March 1, 1641-2; and by the king in his answer, "You speak of jealousies and fears; lay your hands to your hearts and ask yourselves, whether I may not be disturbed with jealousies and fears."

⁵ The Presbyterians (many of whom before the war had got into parish churches) preached the people into rebellion, incited them to take up arms and fight the Lord's battles, and destroy the Amalekites, root and branch, hip and thigh. They told them also to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in links of iron. And Dr South has recorded that many of the regicides were drawn into the grand rebellion by the direful imprecations of seditious preachers from the pulpit. See Spectator, Nos. 60 and 153.

⁶ The Puritans had a custom of putting their hands behind their ears, at sermons, and bending them forward, under pretence of hearing the bet-

And pulpit, drum ecclesiastick,
Was beat with fist, instead of a stick ;¹
Then did Sir Knight abandon dwelling,
And out he rode a colonelling.²

A Wight he was, whose very sight would 15
Entitle him Mirror of Knighthood ;
That never bow'd his stubborn knee³
To anything but chivalry ;
Nor put up blow, but that which laid
Right Worshipful on shoulder-blade :⁴ 20
Chief of domestic knights, and errant,
Either for chartel⁵ or for warrant :
Great on the bench, great in the saddle,
That could as well bind o'er, as swaddle :⁶

ter. Five hundred or a thousand large ears were sometimes pricked up in this fashion as soon as the text was named, and as they wore their hair very short (whence they were called round-heads), they were the more prominent. Dryden alludes to this in his line :

“ And pricks up his predestinating ears.”

¹ Ridiculing their vehement action in the pulpit, and their beating it with their fists, as if they were beating a drum.

² Sir Samuel Luke, of Bedfordshire, is no doubt the type of our hero. This has hitherto been merely surmised, first by Grey, and since by all his successors, including Nash ; but the present editor possesses a copy of the original edition, 1663, in which a MS. Key, evidently of the same date, gives the name of Sir Samuel Luke, without any question. Sir Samuel was a rigid Presbyterian, high in the favour of Cromwell, justice of the peace, chairman of the quarter sessions, a colonel in the parliament army, a committee-man of his own county, and scout-master-general in the counties of Bedford and Surrey. Butler was for a time in the service of Sir Samuel, probably as secretary ; and though in the centre of Puritan meetings, was at heart a Royalist and a Churchman.

³ Alluding to the Presbyterians, who refused to kneel at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; and insisted upon receiving it in a sitting or standing posture. In some of the kirks in Scotland, the pews are so made, that it is very difficult for any one to kneel.

⁴ That is, did not kneel or submit to a blow, except when the King dubbed him a knight. Sir Kenelm Digby tells us, that when King James I., who had an antipathy to a sword, dubbed him knight, had not the Duke of Buckingham guided his hand aright, in lieu of touching his shoulder, he had certainly run the point of it into his eye.

⁵ A challenge ; also an agreement in writing between parties or armies which are enemies. *MS. Key.*

⁶ *Swaddle.*—This word has two opposite meanings, one to beat or cudgel, the other to bind up or *swathe*, hence *swaddling* clothes. See Johnson, Webster, &c.

Mighty he was at both of these, 25
 And styled of War as well as Peace.
 So some rats of amphibious nature
 Are either for the land or water.
 But here our authors make a doubt,
 Whether he were more wise or stout.¹ 30
 Some hold the one, and some the other ;
 But howsoe'er they make a pother,
 The diff'rence was so small, his brain
 Outweigh'd his rage but half a grain ;
 Which made some take him for a tool 35
 That knaves do work with, call'd a Fool.
 For t' has been held by many, that
 As Montaigne, playing with his cat,



Complains she thought him but an ass,²
 Much more she would Sir Hudibras : 40
 For that's the name our valiant knight
 To all his challenges did write.
 But they're mistaken very much,
 'Tis plain enough he was no such ;
 We grant, although he had much wit, 45
 H' was very shy of using it ;

¹ A burlesque on the usual strain of rhetorical flattery, when authors pretend to be puzzled which of their patrons' noble qualities they should give the preference to.

² See this playful passage (quoted from Montaigne, *Essays* ii. 12) in Walton's *Angler*, chap. i.

As being loth to wear it out,
 And therefore bore it not about,
 Unless on holy-days, or so,
 As men their best apparel do. 50
 Beside, 'tis known he could speak Greek
 As naturally as pigs squeak : ¹
 That Latin was no more difficile,
 Than to a blackbird 'tis to whistle.
 Being rich in both, he never scanted 55
 His bounty unto such as wanted ;
 But much of either would afford
 To many, that had not one word.
 For Hebrew roots, although they're found
 To flourish most in barren ground, ² 60
 He had such plenty, as sufficed
 To make some think him circumcised ;
 And truly so, perhaps, he was,
 'Tis many a pious Christian's case. ³
 He was in Logic a great critic, 65
 Profoundly skill'd in Analytic ;
 He could distinguish, and divide
 A hair 'twixt south and south-west side ;
 On either which he would dispute,
 Confute, change hands, and still confute. ⁴ 70
 He'd undertake to prove, by force
 Of argument, a man's no horse ;

¹ "He Greek and Latin speaks with greater ease
 Than hogs eat acorns, and tame pigeons peas."

Cranfield's Panegyric on Tom Coriate.

² Alluding probably to a notion promulgated by Echard and Sir Thomas Browne, that as Hebrew is the primitive language of man, children, if removed from all society, "brought up in a wood, and suckled by a wolf," would, at four years old, instinctively speak Hebrew. Some students in Hebrew (especially John Ryland, the friend of Robert Hall) have been very angry with these lines, and assert that they have done more to prevent the study of that language, than all the professors have done to promote it.

³ In the first editions this couplet was differently expressed.

And truly so he was perhaps,
 Not as a proselyte, but for claps.

⁴ Carneades, the academic, having one day disputed at Rome very copiously in praise of justice, refuted every word on the morrow, by a train of contrary arguments.—Something similar is said of Cardinal Perron.

He'd prove a buzzard is no fowl,
 And that a Lord may be an owl;
 A calf an Alderman,¹ a goose a Justice,² 75
 And rooks, Committee-Men or Trustees.³
 He'd run in debt by disputation,
 And pay with ratiocination.
 All this by syllogism true,
 In mood and figure, he would do. 80
 For Rhetoric, he could not ope
 His mouth, but out there flew a trope:
 And when he happen'd to break off
 I' th' middle of his speech, or cough,⁴
 H' had hard words ready, to show why,⁵ 85
 And tell what rules he did it by.
 Else, when with greatest art he spoke,
 You'd think he talk'd like other folk.
 For all a Rhetorician's rules
 Teach nothing but to name his tools. 90
 But when he pleased to show 't, his speech
 In loftiness of sound was rich;

¹ Such was Alderman Pennington, who sent a person to Newgate for singing what he called a malignant psalm.

² After the declaration of No more addresses to the king, they who before were not above the condition of ordinary constables now became justices of the peace. Chelmsford, at the beginning of the rebellion, was governed by two tailors, two cobblers, two pedlars, and a tinker.

³ A rook is supposed to devour the grain; hence, by a figure, applied to the committee-men, who, under the authority of parliament, harassed and oppressed the country, devouring, in an arbitrary manner, the property of those they did not like. An ordinance was passed in 1649, for the sale of the royal lands, to pay the army; the common soldiers purchasing by regiments, like corporations, and having *trustees* for the whole. These trustees often purchased the soldiers' shares at a very small price, and cheated both officers and soldiers, by detaining the trust estates for their own use.

⁴ The preachers of those days looked upon coughing and hemming as ornaments of speech; and when they printed their sermons, noted in the margin where the preacher coughed or hemm'd. This practice was not confined to England, for Olivier Maillard, a Cordelier, and famous preacher, printed a sermon at Brussels in the year 1500,* and marked in the margin where the preacher hemm'd once or twice, or coughed.

⁵ Amongst the "hard words" of the rhetoricians ridiculed here, were such as hyperbaton, eponesis, asyndeton, aporia, homœosis, hyperbole, hypomone, apodioxsis, anadiplosis, &c. &c.; for the meanings of which, see Webster's Dictionary.

A Babylonish dialect,
 Which learned pedants much affect.
 It was a parti-colour'd dress 95
 Of patch'd and piebald languages:
 'Twas English cut on Greek and Latin,
 Like fustian heretofore on satin.¹
 It had an odd promiscuous tone
 As if h' had talk'd three parts in one ; 100
 Which made some think, when he did gabble,
 Th' had heard three labourers of Babel ;²
 Or Cerberus himself pronounce
 A leash of languages at once.
 This he as volubly would vent 105
 As if his stock would ne'er be spent :
 And truly, to support that charge,
 He had supplies as vast and large.
 For he could coin, or counterfeit
 New words, with little or no wit ; 110
 Words so debased and hard, no stone
 Was hard enough to touch them on.
 And when with hasty noise he spoke 'em,
 The ignorant for current took 'em.
 That had the orator, who once 115
 Did fill his mouth with pebble stones³
 When he harangued, but known his phrase,
 He would have used no other ways.
 In Mathematics he was greater
 Than Tycho Brahe, or Erra Pater :⁴ 120

¹ Slashed sleeves and hose may be seen in the pictures of Dobson, Vandyke, and others; they were coarse fustian pinked, or cut into holes, that the satin might appear through it.

² Diodorus Siculus mentions some southern islands, the inhabitants of which, having their tongues divided, were capable of speaking two different languages at once, and Rabelais, in his account of the monster Hearsay (see Works, Bohn's Edit. v. 2, p. 45), observes, that his mouth was slit up to his ears, and in it were seven tongues, each of them cleft into seven parts, and that he talked with all the seven at once, of different matters, and in divers languages.

³ Demosthenes.

⁴ William Lilly, the famous astrologer of those times. The House of Commons had so great a regard to his predictions, that the author of Mercurius Pragmaticus (No. 20) styles the members the sons of Erra Pater, an old astrologer, of whose predictions John Taylor, the water poet, makes mention.

For he, by geometric scale,
 Could take the size of pots of ale;
 Resolve, by sines and tangents straight,
 If bread or butter wanted weight;¹
 And wisely tell what hour o' th' day 125
 The clock does strike, by Algebra.

Beside, he was a shrewd Philosopher,
 And had read ev'ry text and gloss over:
 Whate'er the crabbed'st author hath,²
 He understood b' implicit faith: 130

Whatever Sceptic could inquire for;
 For every WHY he had a WHEREFORE:³
 Knew more than forty of them do,
 As far as words and terms could go.

All which he understood by rote, 135
 And, as occasion served, would quote;

No matter whether right or wrong;
 They might be either said or sung.
 His notions fitted things so well,
 That which was which he could not tell; 140

But oftentimes mistook the one
 For th' other, as great clerks have done.

He could reduce all things to acts,
 And knew their natures by abstracts;⁴

Where entity and quiddity, 145
 The ghost of defunct bodies fly;⁵

¹ As a justice of the peace it was his duty to inspect weights and measures:

“For well his Worship knows, that ale-house sins
 Maintain himself in gloves, his wife in pins.”

A Satyr against Hypocrites, p. 3, 4.

² If any copy would warrant it, I should read “author saith.” *Nash*.

³ That is, he could answer one question by asking another, or elude one difficulty by proposing another. Ray gives the phrase as a proverb. See *Handbook of Proverbs*, p. 142.

⁴ A thing is in potentia, when it is possible, but does not actually exist; a thing is in act, when it is not only possible, but does exist. A thing is said to be reduced from power into act, when that which was only possible begins really to exist. How far we can know the nature of things by abstracts, has long been a dispute. See Locke, on the Understanding.

⁵ A satire upon the abstract notions of the metaphysicians. Butler humorously calls the metaphysical essences ghosts or shadows of real substances.

Where Truth in person does appear,¹
 Like words congeal'd in northern air.²
 He knew what's what, and that's as high
 As metaphysic wit can fly.³ 150
 In school-divinity as able
 As he that hight irrefragable ;
 A second Thomas, or at once,
 To name them all, another Duns :⁴
 Profound in all the nominal, 155
 And real ways, beyond them all ;
 And, with as delicate a hand,
 Could twist as tough a rope of sand ;⁵
 And weave fine cobwebs, fit for scull
 That's empty when the moon is full ;⁶ 160
 ✓ Such as take lodgings in a head
 That's to be let unfurnished.

¹ Some authors have represented truth as a real thing or person, whereas it is nothing but a right method of putting man's notions or images of things into the same state and order that their originals hold in nature. See Aristotle, Met. lib. 2.

² In Rabelais, Pantagruel throws upon deck three or four handfuls of frozen words. This notion is humorously elaborated in the Tatler, p. 254, and in Munchausen's Travels.

³ The jest here is in giving a vulgar expression as the translation of the "quid est quid" of our old logicians.

⁴ These two lines were omitted after the second edition, but restored in 1704. This whole passage is a smart satire upon the old School divines, many of whom were honoured with some extravagant epithet, and as well known by it as by their proper names : thus *Alexander Hales* was called doctor irrefragable, or invincible ; *Thomas Aquinas*, the angelic doctor, or eagle of divines ; *Duns Scotus*, the great opponent of the doctrine of Aquinas, acquired, by his logical acuteness, the title of the subtle doctor. This last was father of the Reals, and *William Ockham* of the Nominals. See a full account of these Schoolmen in Tennemann's Manual (Bohn's edit. p. 243 et seq.).

⁵ A proverbial saying applicable to those who lose their labour by busy-ing themselves in trifles, or attempting things impossible. The couplet stood thus in the first and all succeeding editions till 1704 :—

For he a rope of sand could twist
 As tough as learned Sorbonist.

The proverb is supposed to be derived from the story of the devil being baulked of a soul for which he had contracted (under the guise of a doctor of the College of Sorbonne), by not being able to make a rope of sand.

⁶ That is, subtle questions or foolish conceits, fit for the brain of a lunatic.

He could raise scruples dark and nice,
 And after solve 'em in a trice ;
 As if Divinity had catch'd 165
 The itch, on purpose to be scratch'd ;
 Or, like a mountebank, did wound
 And stab herself with doubts profound,
 Only to show with how small pain
 The sores of Faith are cured again ; 170
 Altho' by woful proof we find
 They always leave a scar behind.
 He knew the seat of Paradise,
 Could tell in what degree it lies ;¹
 And, as he was disposed, could prove it, 175
 Below the moon, or else above it :
 What Adam dreamt of when his bride
 Came from her closet in his side :
 Whether the devil tempted her
 By a High-Dutch interpreter :² 180
 If either of them had a navel ;³
 Who first made music malleable :⁴

¹ This is a banter upon the many learned and laborious treatises which have been published on the Site of Paradise ; some affirming it to be above the moon, others above the air ; some that it is the whole world, others only a part of the north ; some thinking that it was nowhere, whilst others supposed it to be God knows where in the West Indies. Rudbeck, a Swede, asserts that Sweden was the real Paradise. The learned Bishop Huet gives a map of Paradise, and says it is situated upon the canal formed by the Tigris and Euphrates, near Aracea. Mahomet assured his followers, that Paradise was seated in heaven, and that Adam was cast out from thence when he transgressed. Humboldt (see *Cosmos*, Bohn, vol. i. p. 364-5) brings up the rear, with telling us that every nation has a Paradise somewhere on the other side of the mountains.

² Joh. Goropius Becanus maintained the Teutonic to be the first and most ancient language in the world, and assumed it to have been spoken in Paradise.

³ "Over one of the doors of the King's antechamber at St James's, is a picture of Adam and Eve, painted by Mabuse, which formerly hung in the gallery at Whitehall, thence called the Adam and Eve Gallery. Evelyn, in the preface to his 'Idea of the Perfection of Painting,' mentions this picture, and objects to the absurdity of representing Adam and Eve with navels." See Sir Thomas Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*. Browne, in his *Vulgar Errors*, has a chapter expressly on this subject, and is, no doubt, what the poet is quizzing.

⁴ This relates to the idea that music was first invented by Pythagoras, on hearing the variations of sound produced by a blacksmith striking his anvil with a hammer—a story which has been frequently ridiculed.

Whether the serpent, at the fall,
 Had cloven feet, or none at all.¹
 All this without a gloss, or comment, 185
 He could unriddle in a moment,
 In proper terms, such as men smatter,
 When they throw out, and miss the matter.
 For his Religion, it was fit
 To match his learning and his wit: 190
 'Twas Presbyterian true blue,²
 For he was of that stubborn crew
 Of errant³ saints, whom all men grant
 To be the true church militant:⁴
 Such as do build their faith upon 195
 The holy text of pike and gun;⁵
 Decide all controversy by
 Infallible artillery;
 And prove their doctrine orthodox
 By apostolic blows and knocks; 200
 Call fire, and sword, and desolation,
 A godly-thorough-Reformation,
 Which always must be carried on,
 And still be doing, never done:

¹ That curse upon the serpent, "on thy belly shalt thou go," seeming to imply a deprivation of what he enjoyed before, has been thought to imply that the serpent must previously have had feet. Accordingly St Basil says, he went erect like a man, and had the use of speech, before the fall.

² "True blue," which is found in the old proverb, "true blue will never stain," is used here as an indication of stubborn adherence to party, right or wrong. There is another reference to it in Part III., Canto II., line 870. *Blue* has immemorially been regarded as the emblematical colour of fidelity, and was the usual livery of servants.

—————came a velvet justice, with a long
 Great train of blue-coats, twelve or fourteen strong.

DONNE, *Sat. I.*

³ Literally, itinerant, such as missionaries. But the poet no doubt uses the word "errant" with a double meaning, that is, in the sense of knights "errant" as well as "errant" knaves.

⁴ The church on earth is called militant, as struggling with temptations, and subject to persecutions: but the Presbyterians of those days were literally the church militant, fighting with the establishment, and all that opposed them.

⁵ Cornet Joyce, when he carried away the king from Holdenby, being desired by his Majesty to show his instructions, drew up his troop in the inner court, and said, "These, sir, are my instructions."

As if Religion were intended 205
 For nothing else but to be mended.
 A sect, whose chief devotion lies
 In odd perverse antipathies: ¹
 In falling out with that or this,
 And finding somewhat still amiss: ² 210
 More peevish, cross, and splenetick,
 Than dog distract, or monkey sick:
 That with more care keep holy-day
 The wrong, than others the right way: ³
 Compound for sins they are inclined to, 215
 By damning those they have no mind to:
 Still so perverse and opposite,
 As if they worshipp'd God for spite.
 The self-same thing they will abhor
 One way, and long another for. 220
 Free-will they one way disavow,
 Another, nothing else allow. ⁴
 All piety consists therein
 In them, in other men all sin.
 Rather than fail, they will defy 225
 That which they love most tenderly;

¹ The Presbyterians not only opposed some of the articles of belief held by others, but also the pastimes and amusements of the people. Among other things, they reckoned it sinful to eat plum-porridge, or minced pies, at Christmas. The cavaliers, observing the formal carriage of their adversaries, fell into the opposite extreme, and ate and drank plentifully every day, especially after the Restoration.

² Queen Elizabeth was often heard to say, that she knew very well what would content the Catholics, but could never learn what would content the Puritans.

³ In the year 1645, Christmas-day was ordered to be observed as a *fast*: and on the other hand, Oliver, when Protector, was *feasted* by the lord mayor on Ash-Wednesday. When James the First desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to feast the French ambassadors before their return to France, the ministers proclaimed a fast to be kept the same day. The innovation is thus wittily satirized in a ballad of the time:

“Gone are the golden days of yore,
 When Christmas was an high day,
 Whose sports we now shall see no more,—
 'Tis turn'd into Good Friday.”

⁴ As maintaining absolute predestination, and denying the liberty of man's will: at the same time contending for absolute freedom in rites and ceremonies, and the discipline of the church.

Quarrel with minced pies, and disparage
 Their best and dearest friend, plum-porridge;
 Fat pig and goose itself oppose,
 And blaspheme custard through the nose. 230
 Th' apostles of this fierce religion,
 Like Mahomet's, were ass and widgeon,¹
 To whom our knight, by fast instinct
 Of wit and temper, was so linkt,
 As if hypocrisy and nonsense 235
 Had got th' advowson of his conscience.²
 Thus was he gifted and accouter'd,
 We mean on th' inside, not the outward:
 That next of all we shall discuss;
 Then listen, Sirs, it followeth thus: 240
 His tawny beard was th' equal grace
 Both of his wisdom and his face;
 In cut and dye so like a tile,³
 A sudden view it would beguile:
 The upper part thereof was whey, 245
 The nether orange, mixt with grey.
 This hairy meteor did denounce
 The fall of sceptres and of crowns;⁴
 With grisly type did represent
 Declining age of government, 250

¹ The Ass is the milk-white beast called Alborach, which Mahomet tells us, in the Koran, the angel Gabriel brought to carry him to the presence of God. Alborach refused to let him get up, unless he would promise to procure him an entrance into paradise. Widgeon means the pigeon, which Mahomet taught to eat out of his ear, that it might be thought to be the means of divine communication. Our poet calls it a widgeon, for the sake of equivoque: widgeon, in the figurative sense, signifying a foolish silly fellow.

² Dr Bruno Ryves, in his *Mercurius Rusticus*, gives a remarkable instance of a fanatical conscience, in a captain, who was invited by a soldier to eat part of a goose with him, but refused, because he said it was stolen; but being to march away, he, who would eat no stolen goose, made no scruple to ride away upon a stolen mare.

³ In the time of Charles I., the beard was worn sharply peaked in a triangular form, like the old English tiles. Some had pasteboard cases to put over their beards in the night, lest they should get rumped during their sleep.

⁴ As a comet is supposed to portend some public calamity, so this parliamentary beard threatened monarchy.

And tell, with hieroglyphic spade,¹
 Its own grave and the state's were made.
 Like Samson's heart-breakers, it grew
 In time to make a nation rue ;²
 Tho' it contributed its own fall, 255
 To wait upon the public downfall :³
 It was canonic,⁴ and did grow
 In holy orders, by strict vow :⁵
 Of rule as sullen and severe
 As that of rigid Cordeliere.⁶ 260
 'Twas bound to suffer persecution
 And martyrdom with resolution ;
 T' oppose itself against the hate
 And vengeance of th' incensed state :
 In whose defiance it was worn, 265
 Still ready to be pull'd and torn,
 With red-hot irons to be tortured,
 Reviled, and spit upon, and martyr'd.

¹ Alluding to the pictures of Time and Death.

² Heart-breakers were particular curls worn by the ladies, and sometimes by men. Samson's strength consisted in his hair ; when that was cut off, he was taken prisoner ; when it grew again, he was able to pull down the house, and destroy his enemies.

³ Many of the Presbyterians and Independents swore not to cut their beards till monarchy and episcopacy were ruined. Such vows were common among the barbarous nations, especially the Germans. Civilis, as we learn from Tacitus, having destroyed the Roman legions, cut his hair, which he had vowed to let grow from his first taking up arms. And it became at length a national custom among some of the Germans, never to trim their hair, or their beards, till they had killed an enemy.

⁴ The later editions, for *canonic*, read *monastic*.

⁵ The vow of not shaving the beard till some particular event happened was not uncommon in those times. In a humorous poem, falsely ascribed to Mr Butler, entitled *The Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, we read,

This worthy knight was one that swore

He would not cut his beard,

Till this ungodly nation was

From kings and bishops clear'd.

Which holy vow he firmly kept,

And most devoutly wore

A grisly meteor on his face,

Till they were both no more.

⁶ An order so called in France, from the knotted cord which they wore about their middles. In England they were named Grey Friars, and were the strictest branch of the Franciscans.

Maugre all which, 'twas to stand fast
 As long as monarchy should last ; 270
 But when the state should hap to reel,
 'Twas to submit to fatal steel,
 And fall, as it was consecrate
 A sacrifice to fall of state ;
 Whose thread of life the fatal sisters ¹ 275
 Did twist together with its whiskers,
 And twine so close, that Time should never,
 In life or death, their fortunes sever ;
 But with his rusty sickle mow
 Both down together at a blow. 280
 So learned Taliacotius, from
 The brawny part of porter's bum,
 Cut supplemental noses, which
 Would last as long as parent breech : ²
 But when the date of Nock was out, ³ 285
 Off dropt the sympathetic snout.
 His back, or rather burthen, show'd
 As if it stoop'd with its own load.
 For as Æneas bore his sire
 Upon his shoulders thro' the fire, 290
 Our knight did bear no less a pack
 Of his own buttocks on his back :
 Which now had almost got the upper-
 Hand of his head, for want of crupper.
 To poise this equally, he bore 295
 A paunch of the same bulk before :
 Which still he had a special care
 To keep well-cramm'd with thrifty fare ;
 As white-pot, ⁴ butter-milk, and curds,
 Such as a country-house affords ; 300

¹ Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, the three destinies whom the ancient poets feigned to spin and determine how long the thread of life should last.

² Taliacotius was professor of physic and surgery at Bologna, where he was born, 1553. His treatise in Latin, on the art of ingrafting noses, is well known. See a very humorous account of him, Tatler, No. 260.

³ Nock is a British word, signifying a slit or crack, and hence, figuratively, the fundament; but the more usual term was *nock-andro*. Nock, Nockys, is used by Gawin Douglas in his version of the Æneid, for the bottom or extremity of anything.

⁴ A Devonshire dish.

With other victual, which anon
 We further shall dilate upon,
 When of his hose we come to treat,
 The cupboard where he kept his meat.

His doublet was of sturdy buff, 305
 And though not sword, yet cudgel-proof,
 Whereby 'twas fitter for *his* use,
 Who fear'd no blows but such as bruise.¹
 His breeches were of rugged woollen,
 And had been at the siege of Bullen; 310
 To old King Harry so well known,
 Some writers held they were his own.²
 Thro' they were lined with many a piece
 Of ammunition-bread and cheese,
 And fat black-puddings, proper food 315
 For warriors that delight in blood.
 For, as we said, he always chose
 To carry vittle in his hose,
 That often tempted rats and mice,
 The ammunition to surprise : 320
 And when he put a hand but in
 The one or th' other magazine,
 They stoutly in defence on't stood,
 And from the wounded foe drew blood ;
 And till th' were storm'd and beaten out, 325
 Ne'er left the fortified redoubt :
 And tho' knights errant, as some think,
 Of old did neither eat nor drink,³
 Because when thorough deserts vast,
 And regions desolate, they past, 330
 Where belly-timber above ground,
 Or under, was not to be found,

¹ A man of nice honour suffers more from a kick, or a slap in the face, than from a wound. Sir Walter Raleigh says, to be stricken with a sword is like a man, but to be stricken with a stick is like a slave.

Henry VIII. besieged Boulogne in person, July 14, 1544. He was very fat, and consequently his breeches very large. See the engravings published by the Society of Antiquaries.

³ "Though I think, says Don Quixote, that I have read as many histories of chivalry in my time as any other man, I never could find that knights errant ever eat, unless it were by mere accident, when they were invited to great feasts and royal banquets; at other times, they indulged themselves with little other food besides their thoughts."

Unless they grazed, there's not one word
 Of their provision on record :
 Which made some confidently write, 335
 They had no stomachs but to fight.
 'Tis false : for Arthur wore in hall
 Round-table like a farthingal,¹
 On which, with shirt pull'd out behind,
 And eke before, his good knights dined. 340
 Tho' 'twas no table some suppose,
 But a huge pair of round trunk-hose :
 In which he carried as much meat
 As he and all his knights could eat,²
 When laying by their swords and truncheons, 345
 They took their breakfasts, or their nuncheons.³
 But let that pass at present, lest
 We should forget where we digrest ;
 As learned authors use, to whom
 We leave it, and to th' purpose come. 350
 His puissant sword unto his side,
 Near his undaunted heart, was tied,
 With basket-hilt, that would hold broth,
 And serve for fight and dinner both.
 In it he melted lead for bullets, 355
 To shoot at foes, and sometimes pullets ;
 To whom he bore so fell a grutch,
 He ne'er gave quarter t' any such.
 The trenchant blade, Toledo trusty,⁴
 For want of fighting was grown rusty, 360

¹ The farthingale was a large hoop petticoat worn by the ladies. King Arthur is said to have made choice of the round table that his knights might not quarrel about precedence.

² True-wit, in Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, says of Sir Amorous La Fool, "If he could but victual himself for half-a-year in his breeches, he is sufficiently armed to overrun a country." Act 4, sc. 5.

³ A substitute for a regular meal; equivalent to what is now called a luncheon. Our ancestors in the 13th and 14th century had four meals a day,—breakfast at 7; dinner at 10; supper at 4; and livery at 8 or 9; soon after which they went to bed. The tradesmen and labouring people had only three meals a day,—breakfast at 8; dinner at 12; and supper at 6. They had no livery.

⁴ Toledo, in Spain, famous for the manufacture of swords: the Toledo blades were generally broad, to wear on horseback, and of great length, suitable to the old Spanish dress.

And ate into itself, for lack
 Of somebody to hew and hack.
 The peaceful scabbard where it dwelt,
 The rancour of its edge had felt :
 For of the lower end two handful 365
 It had devour'd, 'twas so manful,
 And so much scorn'd to lurk in case,
 As if it durst not show its face.
 In many desperate attempts,
 Of warrants, exigents, contempts,¹ 370
 It had appear'd with courage bolder
 Than Serjeant Bum, invading shoulder :²
 Oft had it ta'en possession,
 And pris'ners too, or made them run.
 This sword a dagger had, his page, 375
 That was but little for his age :³
 And therefore waited on him so,
 As dwarfs upon knights errant do.
 It was a serviceable dudgeon,⁴
 Either for fighting or for drudging :⁵ 380
 When it had stabb'd, or broke a head,
 It would scrape trenchers, or chip bread,
 Toast cheese or bacon,⁶ though it were
 To bait a mouse-trap, 'twould not care.
 'Twould make clean shoes, and in the earth 385
 Set leeks and onions, and so forth :
 It had been 'prentice to a brewer,
 Where this, and more, it did endure ;
 But left the trade, as many more
 Have lately done, on the same score.⁷ 390

¹ Exigent is a writ issued in order to bring a person to an outlawry, if he does not appear to answer the suit commenced against him.

² Alluding to the method by which bum-bailiffs, as they are called, arrest persons, by giving them a tap on the shoulder.

³ Thus Homer accoutres Agamemnon with a dagger hanging near his sword, which he used instead of a knife. *Iliad*. Lib. iii. 271.

⁴ A dudgeon was a short sword, or dagger: from the Teutonic *Degen*.

⁵ That is, for domestic uses or any drudgery, such as follows in the next verses.

⁶ Corporal Nym says, in Shakspeare's *Henry V.*, "I dare not fight, but I will wink, and hold out mine iron: it is a simple one, but what though—it will toast cheese."

⁷ A joke upon Oliver Cromwell, who was said to be the son of a brewer in Huntingdonshire. It was frequently the subject of lampoons during his life-

In th' holsters, at his saddle-bow,
 Two aged pistols he did stow,
 Among the surplus of such meat
 As in his hose he could not get.
 These would inveigle rats with th' scent, 395
 To forage when the cocks were bent ;
 And sometimes catch 'em with a snap,
 As cleverly as th' ablest trap.
 They were upon hard duty still,
 And every night stood sentinel, 400
 To guard the magazine i' th' hose,
 From two-legg'd, and from four-legg'd foes.
 Thus clad and fortified, Sir Knight,
 From peaceful home, set forth to fight.
 But first, with nimble active force, 405
 He got on th' outside of his horse.¹
 For having but one stirrup tied
 T' his saddle, on the further side,
 It was so short, h' had much ado
 To reach it with his desp'rate toe. 410
 But after many strains and heaves,
 He got upon the saddle eaves,
 From whence he vaulted into th' seat,
 With so much vigour, strength, and heat,
 That he had almost tumbled over 415
 With his own weight, but did recover,
 By laying hold on tail and mane,
 Which oft he used instead of rein.
 But now we talk of mounting steed,
 Before we further do proceed, 420
 It doth behove us to say something
 Of that which bore our valiant bumkin.

time. Pride had been a brewer, Hewson and Scott brewers' clerks.

¹ Nothing can be more completely droll, than this description of Hudibras mounting his horse. He had one stirrup tied on the off-side very short, the saddle very large; the knight short, fat, and unwieldy, having his breeches and pockets stuffed with black puddings and other provision, over-acting his effort to mount, and nearly tumbling over on the opposite side; his single spur, we may suppose, catching in some of his horse's furniture. Cleveland identifies this picture in his lines: — "like Sir Samuel Luke in a great saddle, nothing to be seen but the giddy feather in his crown."

The beast was sturdy, large, and tall,
 With mouth of meal, and eyes of wall;
 I would say eye, for h' had but one, 425
 As most agree, though some say none.
 He was well stay'd, and in his gait,
 Preserv'd a grave, majestic state.
 At spur or switch no more he skipt,
 Or mended pace, than Spaniard whipt: ¹ 430
 And yet so fiery, he would bound,
 As if he grieved to touch the ground:
 That Cæsar's horse, who, as fame goes,
 Had corns upon his feet and toes,²
 Was not by half so tender-hooft, 435
 Nor trod upon the ground so soft:
 And as that beast would kneel and stoop,
 Some write, to take his rider up: ³
 So Hudibras his, 'tis well known,
 Would often do, to set him down. 440
 We shall not need to say what lack
 Of leather was upon his back:
 For that was hidden under pad,
 And breech of Knight gall'd full as bad.
 His strutting ribs on both sides show'd 445
 Like furrows he himself had plow'd:
 For underneath the skirt of pannel,
 'Twixt every two there was a channel.
 His dragging tail hung in the dirt,
 Which on his rider he would flirt, 450
 Still as his tender side he prickt,
 With arm'd heel, or with unarm'd, kickt:
 For Hudibras wore but one spur,
 As wisely knowing, could he stir

¹ This alludes to Sir Roger l'Estrange's story of a Spaniard, who was condemned to run the gauntlet, and disdained to avoid any part of the punishment by mending his pace.

² Suetonius relates, that the hoofs of Cæsar's horse were divided like human toes. See also Montfaucon, *Antiquité expliquée*, vol. ii. p. 58.

³ Stirrups were not in use in the time of Cæsar. Common persons, who were active and hardy, vaulted into their seats; and persons of distinction had their horses taught to bend down towards the ground, or else they were assisted by their equerries.

To active trot one side of's horse, 455
 The other would not hang an arse.¹
 A Squire he had, whose name was Ralph,²
 That in th' adventure went his half.
 Though writers, for more stately tone,
 Do call him Ralpho, 'tis all one: 460
 And when we can, with metre safe,
 We'll call him so, if not, plain Raph.³
 For rhyme the rudder is of verses,
 With which, like ships, they steer their courses.
 An equal stock of wit and valour. 465
 He had lain in, by birth a tailor.
 The mighty Tyrian queen that gain'd,
 With subtle shreds, a tract of land,⁴
 Did leave it, with a castle fair,
 To his great ancestor, her heir; 470
 From him descended cross-legg'd knights;⁵
 Famed for their faith and warlike fights
 Against the bloody Cannibal,⁶
 Whom they destroy'd both great and small.

¹ This jest had previously appeared in an old book called *Gratiæ ludentes*, or *Jests from the Universitie*, 1638, where it runs thus: "A scholar being jeered on the way for wearing but one spur, said that if one side of his horse went on, it was not likely the other would stay behind."

² As the knight was of the Presbyterian party, so the squire was an Anabaptist or Independent. This gives our author an opportunity of characterizing these several sects, and of showing their joint concurrence against the king and church.

³ Sir Roger L'Estrange supposes, that the original of Ralph was one Isaac Robinson, a butcher in Moorfields: another authority thinks that the character was designed for Pemble a tailor, one of the committee of sequestrators. Grey supposes, that the name of Ralph was taken from the grocer's apprentice, in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Knight of the Burning Pestle." Mr Pemberton, who was a relation and godson of Mr Butler, said, that the 'squire was designed for Ralph Bedford, esquire, member of parliament for the town of Bedford.

⁴ The allusion is to the well-known story of Dido, who purchased as much land as she could surround with an ox's hide. She cut the hide into extremely narrow strips, and so obtained twenty-two furlongs. See Virg. *Æneid*. lib. i. 367.

⁵ A double allusion. Tailors sit at their work in this posture; and Crusaders are represented on funeral monuments with their legs across.

⁶ Tailors, as well as Crusaders, are famed for their faith, though of different kinds. The words, bloody cannibal, are meant to be equally applicable to the Saracens and a louse.

This sturdy Squire had, as well 475
 As the bold Trojan knight, seen hell,¹
 Not with a counterfeited pass
 Of golden bough, but true gold lace.
 His knowledge was not far behind
 The knight's, but of another kind, 480
 And he another way came by't ;
 Some call it Gifts, and some New Light.
 A lib'ral art, that costs no pains
 Of study, industry, or brains.
 His wits were sent him for a token,² 485
 But in the carriage crack'd and broken.
 Like commendation nine-pence, crookt
 With—to and from my love—it lookt.³
 He ne'er consider'd it, as loth
 To look a gift-horse in the mouth ; 490
 And very wisely would lay forth
 No more upon it than 'twas worth.⁴
 But as he got it freely, so
 He spent it frank and freely too.
 For saints themselves will sometimes be, 495
 Of gifts that cost them nothing, free.
 By means of this, with hem and cough,
 Prolongers to enlighten'd snuff,⁵
 He could deep mysteries unriddle,
 As easily as thread a needle ; 500

¹ In allusion to Æneas's descent into hell, and the tailor's receptacle for his filchings, also called hell.

² Var. "His wit was sent him."

³ From this passage, and the proverb "he has brought his noble to ninepence," one would be led to conclude, that coins were commonly struck of that value ; but only two instances of the kind are recorded by Mr Folkes, both during the civil wars, the one at Dublin, and the other at Newark. Long before this period, however, by royal proclamation of July 9, 1551, the base testoons or shillings of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were rated at ninepence, and these were as abundant as sixpences or shillings until 1696, when all money not milled was called in. Such pieces were often bent and given as love-tokens, and were called "To my love and from my love." See Tatler, No. 240.

⁴ When the barber came to shave Sir Thomas More, the morning of his execution, the prisoner told him, "that there was a contest betwixt the King and him for his head, and he would not willingly lay out more upon it than it was worth."

⁵ *Enlighten'd snuff*.—This reading, which is confirmed by Butler's Ge-

For as of vagabonds we say,
 That they are ne'er beside their way :
 Whate'er men speak by this new light,
 Still they are sure to be i' th' right.
 'Tis a dark-lanthorn of the spirit, 505
 Which none see by but those that bear it :
 A light that falls down from on high,¹
 For spiritual trades to cozen by :
 An ignis fatuus, that bewitches,
 And leads men into pools and ditches,² 510
 To make them dip themselves, and sound
 For Christendom in dirty pond ;
 To dive, like wild-fowl, for salvation,
 And fish to catch regeneration.
 This light inspires, and plays upon 515
 The nose of saint, like bagpipe drone,
 And speaks through hollow empty soul,
 As through a trunk, or whisp'ring hole,
 Such language as no mortal ear
 But spiritual eaves-droppers can hear. 520
 So Phœbus, or some friendly muse,
 Into small poets song infuse ;³
 Which they at second-hand rehearse,
 Thro' reed or bag-pipe, verse for verse.
 Thus Ralph became infallible, 525
 As three or four legg'd oracle,
 The ancient cup, or modern chair ;⁴
 Spoke truth point blank, though unaware.

nuine Remains, seems preferable to "enlightened stuff," and is a good allusion. As a lamp just expiring with a faint light, for want of oil, emits flashes at intervals ; so the *tailor's* shallow discourse, like the extempore preaching of his brethren, was lengthened out with hems and coughs, with stops and pauses, for want of matter.

¹ A burlesque parallel between traders in spiritual gifts, and traders who show their goods to advantage by means of sky-lights.

² An allusion to the Anabaptists, or Dippers. There were two sorts of Anabaptists, one called the *Old Men* or *Aspersi*, because they were only sprinkled ; the other called *New Men* or *Immersi*, because they were overwhelmed in their rebaptization. See *Mercurius Rusticus*, No. 3.

³ Poetry and Enthusiasm are closely allied : a Poet is an Enthusiast in jest ; an Enthusiast a Poet in earnest.

⁴ Alluding to Joseph's divining-cup, Gen. xliv. 5 ; the Pope's infallible chair ; and the tripes, or three-legged stool of the priestess of Apollo at

For mystic learning wondrous able
 In magic talisman, and cabal,¹ 530
 Whose primitive tradition reaches,
 As far as Adam's first green breeches:²
 Deep-sighted in intelligences,
 Ideas, atoms, influences;
 And much of terra incognita, 535
 Th' intelligible world could say;³
 A deep occult philosopher,
 As learn'd as the wild Irish are,⁴
 Or Sir Agrippa, for profound
 And solid lying much renown'd:⁵ 540

Delphi. Four-legg'd oracle probably means telling fortunes from quadrupeds.

¹ Talisman was a magical inscription or figure, engraved or cast by the direction of astrologers, under certain positions of the heavenly bodies, and thought to have great efficacy as a preservative from diseases and all kinds of evil. Cabal, or cabbala, is a sort of divination by letters or numbers: it signifies likewise the secret or mysterious doctrines of any religion or sect. In the time of Charles II. it obtained its present signification as being applied to the intriguing junto composed of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, the first letters of whose names form the word.

² The author of the *Magia Adamica* endeavours to prove, that the learning of the ancient Magi was derived from the knowledge which God communicated to Adam in paradise. The second line is a burlesque on the Geneva translation of the Bible, Genesis iii., which reads *breeches*, instead of aprons. In Mr Butler's character of an hermetic philosopher we read: "he derives the pedigree of magic from Adam's first green breeches; because fig-leaves, being the first covering that mankind wore, are the most ancient monuments of concealed mysteries."

³ "Ideas, according to my philosophy, are not in the soul, but in a superior intelligible nature, wherein the soul only beholds and contemplates them." See Norris's Letter to Dodwell, on the Immortality of the Soul, p. 114. *Nash*. But it is more probable that Butler is alluding to Gabriel John's Theory of an Intelligible World, publ. London, 1700; a book which created much sensation at the time, and is supposed to have furnished Swift with some of his material.

⁴ See the ancient and modern customs of the Irish, in Camden's *Britannia*, and Speed's *Theatre of Great Britain*.

⁵ Agrippa was born at Cologne, ann. 1486, and knighted for his military services under the Emperor Maximilian. When very young, he published a book *De Occultâ Philosophiâ*, which contains almost all the stories that ever roguery invented, or credulity swallowed, concerning the operations of magic. But in his riper years Agrippa was thoroughly ashamed of this book, and suppressed it in his collected works.

He Anthroposophus,¹ and Floud,
 And Jacob Behmen understood ;
 Knew many an amulet and charm,
 That would do neither good nor harm ;
 In Rosicrucian lore as learned,² 545
 As he that *verè adeptus*³ earned.
 He understood the speech of birds⁴
 As well as they themselves do words ;
 Could tell what subtlest parrots mean,
 That speak and think contrary clean ;⁵ 550
 What member 'tis of whom they talk,
 When they cry Rope—and Walk, Knave, walk.⁶

¹ A nickname given to Dr Vaughan, author of a discourse on the condition of man after death, entitled, *Anthroposophia theomagica*,—which, according to Dean Swift, is “a piece of the most unintelligible fustian that perhaps was ever published in any language.” Robert Floud (or *Fludd*), son of Sir Thomas Floud, Treasurer of War to Queen Elizabeth, was Doctor of Physic, and devoted to occult philosophy. He wrote an apology for the Rosicrucians, also a system of physics, called the Mosaic Philosophy, and many other mystical works, to the extent of 6 vols. folio. Jacob Behmen was an enthusiast of the same period, and wrote unintelligibly in mystical terms. Mr Law, who revived some of his notions, calls him a Theosopher.

² The Rosicrucians were a sect of hermetical philosophers. They owed their origin to a German, named Christian Rosenkreuz, but frequently went by other names, such as the Illuminati, the Immortales, the Invisible Brothers. Their learning had a great mixture of enthusiasm; and as Lemery, the famous chymist, says, “it was an art without an art, whose beginning was lying, whose middle was labour, and whose end was beggary.”

³ The title assumed by alchemists, who pretended to have discovered the philosopher's stone.

⁴ Porphyry, *De Abstinentiâ*, lib. iii. cap. 3, contends that animals have a language, and that men may understand it; and the author of the Targum on Esther says, that Solomon understood the speech of birds.

⁵ In allusion, no doubt, to the story of Henry the Eighth's parrot, which falling into the Thames, cried out, *A boat, twenty pounds for a boat*, and was saved by a waterman, who on restoring him to the king claimed the reward. But on an appeal to the parrot he exclaimed, *Give the knave a groat*.

⁶ Alluding probably to Judge Tomlinson, who in a ludicrous speech, on swearing in the Sheriffs, said: “You are the chief executioners of sentences upon malefactors, Mr Sheriffs; therefore I shall entreat a favour of you. I have a kinsman, a rope-maker; and as I know you will have many occasions during the year for his services, I commend him to you.” A satirical tract was published by Edw. Gayton, probably levelled at Colonel Hewson, with this title, “Walk, knaves, walk: a discourse intended to have been spoken at court,” &c.

He'd extract numbers out of matter,¹
 And keep them in a glass, like water,
 Of sov'reign power to make men wise ;² 555
 For, dropt in blear, thick-sighted eyes,
 They'd make them see in darkest night,
 Like owls, tho' purblind in the light.
 By help of these, as he profest,
 He had first matter seen undrest : 560
 He took her naked, all alone,
 Before one rag of form was on.³
 The chaos too he had descry'd,
 And seen quite thro', or else he lied :
 Not that of pasteboard, which men shew 565
 For groats, at fair of Barthol'mew ;⁴
 But its great grandsire, first o' th' name,
 Whence that and Reformation came,
 Both cousin-germans, and right able
 T'inveigle and draw in the rabble : 570
 But Reformation was, some say,
 O' th' younger house to puppet-play.⁵
 He could foretell whats'ever was,
 By consequence, to come to pass :
 As death of great men, alterations, 575
 Diseases, battles, inundations :
 All this without th' eclipse of th' sun,

¹ Every absurd notion, that could be picked up from the ancients, was adopted by the wild enthusiasts of our author's days. Plato, as Aristotle informs us, *Metaph. lib. i. c. 6.* conceived numbers to exist by themselves, beside the sensibles, like accidents without a substance. Pythagoras maintained that sensible things consisted of numbers. *Ib. lib. xi. c. 6.* And see Plato in his *Cratylus*.

² The Pythagorean philosophy held that there were certain mystical charms in certain numbers.

Plato held whatsoe'er ennumbers

Or strengthens empire, comes from numbers. *Butler's MS.*

³ Thus Cleveland, page 110. "The next ingredient of a diurnal is plots, horrible plots, which with wonderful sagacity it hunts dry foot, while they are yet in their causes, before *materia prima* can put on her smock."

⁴ The puppet-shows, sometimes called Moralities or Mysteries, exhibited Chaos, the Creation, Flood, Nativity, and other subjects of sacred history, on pasteboard scenery. These induced many to read the Old and New Testament; and is therefore called the Elder Brother of the Reformation.

⁵ That is, the Sectarics, in their pretence to inspiration, assumed to be passive instruments of the Holy Spirit, directed like puppets.

Or dreadful comet, he hath done
 By Inward Light, a way as good,
 And easy to be understood : 580
 But with more lucky hit than those
 That use to make the stars depose,
 Like knights o' th' post,¹ and falsely charge
 Upon themselves what others forge ;
 As if they were consenting to 585
 All mischief in the world men do :
 Or, like the devil, did tempt and sway 'em
 To rogueries, and then betray 'em.
 They'll search a planet's house, to know
 Who broke and robb'd a house below ; 590
 Examine Venus and the Moon,
 Who stole a thimble and a spoon :²
 And tho' they nothing will confess,
 Yet by their very looks can guess,
 And tell what guilty aspect bodes, 595
 Who stole, and who received the goods.
 They'll question Mars, and, by his look,
 Detect who 'twas that nimm'd a cloak ;
 Make Mercury confess, and 'peach
 Those thieves which he himself did teach.³ 600
 They'll find, i' th' physiognomies
 O' th' planets, all men's destinies ;
 Like him that took the doctor's bill,
 And swallow'd it instead o' th' pill.⁴
 Cast the nativity o' th' question,⁵ 605
 And from positions to be guest on,

¹ Knights of the post were infamous persons, who attended the courts of justice, to swear for hire anything that might be required, and even to confess themselves guilty of crimes, upon sufficient remuneration : they acquired the designation from their habit of loitering at the posts on which the sheriffs' proclamations were affixed.

² Alluding to the old notion, that the moon was the repository of all things that were lost or stolen.

³ Mercury is the god of thieves, and Mars of pirates.

⁴ This alludes to a well-known story told in Henry Stephens's apology for Herodotus. A physician, having prescribed for a countryman, gave him the paper, desiring him to take it, which he did literally, wrapping it up like a bolus, and was cured.

⁵ In casting a nativity, astrologers considered it necessary to have the exact time of birth ; but in the absence of this, the position of the heavens at the minute the question was asked was taken as a substitute.

As sure as if they knew the moment
 Of Native's birth, tell what will come on't.
 They'll feel the pulses of the stars,
 To find out agues, coughs, catarrhs : 610
 And tell what crisis does divine
 The rot in sheep, or mange in swine :
 In men, what gives or cures the itch,
 What made them cuckolds, poor, or rich ;
 What gains, or loses, hangs, or saves, 615
 What makes men great, what fools, or knaves ;
 But not what wise, for only of those
 The stars, they say, cannot dispose,¹
 No more than can the astrologians.
 There they say right, and like true Trojans. 620
 This Ralpho knew, and therefore took
 The other course, of which we spoke.²

Thus was th' accomplish'd squire endued
 With gifts and knowledge per'lous shrewd.
 Never did trusty squire with knight, 625
 Or knight with squire, jump more right.
 Their arms and equipage did fit,
 As well as virtues, parts, and wit :
 Their valours too, were of a rate,
 And out they sallied at the gate. 630
 Few miles on horseback had they jogged,
 But fortune unto them turn'd dogged ;
 For they a sad adventure met,
 Of which anon we mean to treat :
 But ere we venture to unfold 635
 Achievements so resolved and bold,
 We should, as learned poets use,
 Invoke th' assistance of some Muse ;
 However critics count it sillier,
 Than jugglers talking t' a familiar : 640
 We think 'tis no great matter which ;
 They're all alike, yet we shall pitch

¹ *Sapiens dominabitur astris* (the wise man will govern the stars), was an old proverb among the astrologers. Bishop Warburton observes, that the obscurity in these lines arises from the double sense of the word *dispose* ; when it relates to the stars, it signifies *influence* ; when it relates to astrologers, it signifies *deceive*.

² i. e. did not take to astrological, but to religious imposture.

On one that fits our purpose most,
 Whom therefore thus we do accost: —
 Thou that with ale, or viler liquors, 645
 Didst inspire Withers, Pryn, and Vickars,¹
 And force them, though it were in spite
 Of Nature, and their stars, to write;
 Who, as we find in sullen writs,
 And cross-grain'd works of modern wits. 650
 With vanity, opinion, want,
 The wonder of the ignorant,
 The praises of the author, penn'd
 By himself, or wit-insuring friend;
 The itch of picture in the front, 655
 With bays, and wicked rhyme upon't,
 All that is left o' th' forked hill²
 To make men scribble without skill;
 Canst make a poet, spite of fate,
 And teach all people to translate; 660
 Though out of languages, in which
 They understand no part of speech;
 Assist me but this once, I 'mpleore,
 And I shall trouble thee no more.
 In western clime there is a town,³ 665
 To those that dwell therein well known,
 Therefore there needs no more be said here,
 We unto them refer our reader;
 For brevity is very good,
 When w' are, or are not understood.⁴ 670
 To this town people did repair
 On days of market, or of fair,

¹ George Wither, a violent party writer, and author of many poetical pieces; William Prynne, a voluminous writer, and author of the *Histriomastix*, for which he lost his ears; John Vickars, a fierce parliamentary zealot. A list of the works of these and other writers of the period will be found in *Loundes, Bibl. Manual*.

² That is, Parnassus, supposed to be cleft on the summit.

³ He probably means Brentford, about eight miles west of London. See Part ii. Cant. iii. ver. 996.

⁴ "If we are understood, more words are unnecessary; if we are not likely to be understood, they are useless." Charles II. answered the Earl of Manchester with the above couplet, only changing *very* for *ever*, when he was making a long speech in favour of the dissenters.

And to crack'd fiddle, and hoarse tabor,
 In merriment did drudge and labour ;
 But now a sport more formidable 675
 Had raked together village rabble :
 'Twas an old way of recreating,
 Which learned butchers call bear-baiting ;
 A bold advent'rous exercise,
 With ancient heroes in high prize ; 680
 For authors do affirm it came
 From Isthmian or Nemean game ;
 Others derive it from the bear
 That's fix'd in northern hemisphere,
 And round about the pole does make 685
 A circle, like a bear at stake,
 That at the chain's end wheels about,
 And overturns the rabble-rout.
 For after solemn proclamation,¹
 In the bear's name, as is the fashion, 690
 According to the law of arms,
 To keep men from inglorious harms,
 That none presume to come so near
 As forty feet of stake of bear ;
 If any yet be so fool-hardy, 695
 T' expose themselves to vain jeopardy,
 If they come wounded off, and lame,
 No honour's got by such a maim,
 Altho' the bear gain much, b'ing bound
 In honour to make good his ground, 700
 When he's engag'd, and take no notice,
 If any press upon him, who 'tis,
 But lets them know, at their own cost,
 That he intends to keep his post.
 This to prevent, and other harms, 705
 Which always wait on feats of arms,
 For in the hurry of a fray
 'Tis hard to keep out of harm's way.
 Thither the Knight his course did steer
 To keep the peace 'twixt dog and bear, 710

¹ The proclamation here mentioned was usually made at bear or bull-baiting. The people were warned by the steward not to come within 40 feet of the bull or bear, at their peril.

As he believed h' was bound to do
 In conscience, and commission too ;¹
 And therefore thus bespoke the Squire : —

We that are wisely mounted higher
 Than constables, in curule wit, 715

When on tribunal bench we sit,²
 Like speculators, should foresee,
 From Pharos³ of authority,
 Portended mischiefs farther than
 Low proletarian tything-men :⁴ 720

And therefore being inform'd by bruit,
 That dog and bear are to dispute ;
 For so of late men fighting name,
 Because they often prove the same ;
 For where the first does hap to be, 725
 The last does *coincidere*.

Quantum in nobis, have thought good
 To save th' expense of Christian blood,
 And try if we, by mediation
 Of treaty, and accommodation, 730
 Can end the quarrel, and compose
 The bloody duel without blows.

Are not our liberties, our lives,
 The laws, religion, and our wives,

¹ The Presbyterians and Independents were great enemies to those sports with which the country people amused themselves, and which King James had most expressly encouraged, and even countenanced on a Sunday, as well by act of Parliament as by writing his "Book of Sports" (published 1618) in their favour. Hume, anno 1660, says, "All recreations were in a manner suspended, by the rigid severity of the Presbyterians and Independents; even bear-baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian; the sport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Hewson, in his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and destroyed all the bears which were there kept for the diversion of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras."

² Some of the chief magistrates in Rome were said to hold curule offices, from the chair of state or chariot they rode in, called *sella curulis*.

³ Pharos, a celebrated light-house of antiquity, 500 feet high, whence the English word *Pharos*, a watch-tower.

⁴ *Proletarii* were the lowest class of people among the Romans: by affixing this term to tythingmen, the knight implies the little estimation in which they were held.

Enough at once to lie at stake 735
 For Cov'nant,¹ and the Cause's sake ?²
 But in that quarrel dogs and bears,
 As well as we, must venture theirs ?
 This feud, by Jesuits invented,
 By evil counsel is fomented ; 740
 There is a Machiavelian plot,
 Tho' ev'ry nare olfact it not ;³
 A deep design in't, to divide
 The well-affected that confide,
 By setting brother against brother 745
 To claw and curry one another.
 Have we not enemies *plus satis*,
 That *cane et angue pejus*⁴ hate us ?
 And shall we turn our fangs and claws
 Upon our own selves, without cause ? 750
 That some occult design doth lie
 In bloody cynaretomachy,⁵
 Is plain enough to him that knows
 How saints lead brothers by the nose.
 I wish myself a pseudo-prophet, 755
 But sure some mischief will come of it,

¹ This was the Solemn League and Covenant, which was first framed and taken by the Scottish parliament, and by them sent to the parliament of England, in order to unite the two nations more closely in religion. It was received and taken by both houses, and by the City of London, and ordered to be read in all the churches throughout the kingdom ; and every person was bound to give his consent by holding up his hand at the reading of it. See a copy of it in Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion.

² Sir William Dugdale informs us, that Mr Bond, preaching at the Savoy, told his auditors from the pulpit, "That they ought to contribute, and pray, and do all they were able to bring in their brethren of Scotland, for settling of God's cause : I say, quoth he, this is God's cause, and if our God hath any cause, this is it ; and if this be not God's cause, then God is no God for me ; but the devil is got up into heaven."

³ Meaning, though every nose do not smell it. Nare from *Nares*, the Latin for nostrils.

⁴ A proverbial saying, used by Horace, expressive of bitter aversion. The punishment for parricide among the Romans was, to be put into a sack with a snake, a dog, and an ape, and thrown into the river.

⁵ A compound of three Greek words, signifying a fight between dogs and bears. Colonel Cromwell, finding the people of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, bear-baiting on the Lord's-day, caused the bears to be seized, tied to a tree, and shot.

Unless by providential wit,
 Or force, we averruncate¹ it.
 For what design, what interest,
 Can beast have to encounter beast? 760
 They fight for no espoused Cause,
 Frail privilege, fundamental laws,²
 Nor for a thorough Reformation,
 Nor Covenant, nor Protestation,³
 Nor liberty of consciences,⁴ 765
 Nor lords' and commons' ordinances; ⁵
 Nor for the church, nor for church-lands,
 To get them in their own no hands; ⁶
 Nor evil counsellors to bring
 To justice, that seduce the king; 770
 Nor for the worship of us men,
 Tho' we have done as much for them.
 Th' Egyptians worshipp'd dogs,⁷ and for
 Their faith made internecine war.
 Others adored a rat,⁸ and some 775
 For that church suffer'd martyrdom.

¹ To eradicate, or pluck up by the root.

² The lines that follow recite the grounds on which the Parliament began the war against the king, and justified their proceedings. Butler calls the privileges of parliament frail, because they were so very apt to complain of their being broken. Whatever the king did, or refused to do, contrary to the sentiments, they voted a breach of their privilege; his dissenting to any of the bills they offered him was a breach of privilege; his proclaiming them traitors, who were in arms against him, was a high breach of their privilege: and the Commons at last voted it a breach of privilege for the House of Lords to refuse assent to anything that came from the lower house.

³ The Protestation was a solemn vow entered into, and subscribed, the first year of the long parliament.

⁴ The early editions have it *Nor for free liberty of conscience*; and this reading Bishop Warburton approves; "free liberty" being, as he thinks, a satirical periphrasis for licentiousness, which is what the author here hints at.

⁵ The king being driven from the Parliament, no legal acts could be made. An ordinance (says Cleveland, p. 109) is a law still-born, dropt before quickened by the royal assent. "'T is one of the parliament's by-blows, Acts only being legitimate, and hath no more sire than a Spanish gennet, that is begotten by the wind."

⁶ *No hands* here mean *paws*.

⁷ Anubis, one of their gods, was figured with a dog's face. The Egyptians also worshipped cats; see an instance in *Diodorus Siculus* of their putting a Roman noble to death for killing a cat, although by mistake.

⁸ The Ichneumon, or water-rat of the Nile, called also Pharaoh's rat, which destroys the eggs of the Crocodile.

The Indians fought for the truth
 Of th' elephant and monkey's tooth ;¹
 And many, to defend that faith,
 Fought it out *mordicus* to death.² 780
 But no beast ever was so slight,³
 For man, as for his god, to fight ;
 They have more wit, alas ! and know
 Themselves and us better than so.
 But we, who only do infuse 785
 The rage in them like *boutè-feus*,⁴
 'Tis our example that instils
 In them th' infection of our ills.
 For, as some late philosophers
 Have well observed, beasts that converse 790
 With man take after him, as hogs
 Get pigs all the year, and bitches dogs.
 Just so, by our example, cattle
 Learn to give one another battle.
 We read, in Nero's time, the Heathen, 795
 When they destroy'd the Christian brethren,
 They sew'd them in the skins of bears,⁵
 And then set dogs about their ears ;
 From whence, no doubt, th' invention came⁶
 Of this lewd antichristian game. 800
 To this, quoth Ralpho, Verily
 The point seems very plain to me ;
 It is an antichristian game,
 Unlawful both in thing and name.
 First, for the name ; the word bear-baiting 805
 Is carnal, and of man's creating ;⁷

¹ The inhabitants of Ceylon and Siam worshipped the teeth of monkeys and elephants. The Portuguese, out of zeal for the Christian religion, destroyed these idols ; and the Siamese are said to have offered 700,000 ducats to redeem a monkey's tooth which they had long worshipped. See Linschoten's, Le Blanc's, and Herbert's Travels.

² Valiantly, tooth and nail. ³ That is, so silly. ⁴ Incendiaries.

⁵ See Tacitus, Annals, B. xv. c. 44. (Bohn's transl. vol. i. p. 423.)

⁶ Alluding probably to Prynne's *Histrion-mastix*, p. 556 and 583, who has endeavoured to prove it such from the 61st canon of the sixth Council of Constantinople, which he has thus translated: "Those ought also to be subject to six years' excommunication who carry about bears, or such like creatures, for sport, to the hurt of simple people."

⁷ The Assembly of Divines, in their Annotations on Genesis i. 1, assail the King for creating honours.

For certainly there's no such word
 In all the Scripture on record :
 Therefore unlawful, and a sin ;¹
 And so is, secondly, the thing : 810
 A vile assembly 'tis, that can
 No more be proved by Scripture, than
 Provincial, Classic, National ;²
 Mere human creature-cobwebs all.
 Thirdly, it is idolatrous ; 815
 For when men run a-whoring thus³
 With their inventions, whatsoe'er
 The thing be, whether dog or bear,
 It is idolatrous and pagan,
 No less than worshipping of Dagon. 820
 Quoth Hudibras, I smell a rat ;
 Ralpho, thou dost prevaricate :
 For though the thesis which thou lay'st
 Be true, *ad amussim*,⁴ as thou say'st ;
 For that bear-baiting should appear, 825
Jure divino, lawfuller
 Than synods are, thou dost deny
Totidem verbis ; so do I :
 Yet there's a fallacy in this ;
 For if by sly *homœosis*,⁵ 830
 Thou wouldst sophistically imply
 Both are unlawful, I deny.
 And I, quoth Ralpho, do not doubt
 But bear-baiting may be made out,
 In gospel-times, as lawful as is 835
 Provincial, or parochial *Classis* ;

¹ The disciplinarians held, that the Scriptures were full and express on every subject, and that everything was sinful which was not there directed. Some of the Huguenots refused to pay rent to their landlords, unless they could produce a text of Scripture directing them to do so.

² These words represent things of man's invention, therefore carnal and unlawful. The vile assembly means the bear-baiting, but alludes covertly to the Assembly of Divines.

³ See Psalm cvi. 38.

⁴ Exactly true, and according to rule.

⁵ The explanation of a thing by something resembling it. Between this line and the next, the following couplet is inserted in several editions :—

Tussis pro crepitu, an art
 Under a cough to slur a f—rt.

And that both are so near of kin,
 And like in all, as well as sin,
 That, put 'em in a bag and shake 'em,
 Yourself o' th' sudden would mistake 'em, 840
 And not know which is which, unless
 You measure by their wickedness ;
 For 'tis not hard t' imagine whether
 O' th' two is worst, tho' I name neither.

Quoth Hudibras, Thou offer'st much, 845
 But art not able to keep touch.

Mira de lente,¹ as 'tis i' th' adage,
Id est, to make a leek a cabbage ;
 Thou canst at best but overstrain
 A paradox, and th' own hot brain ;² 850

For what can synods have at all
 With bear that's analogical ?
 Or what relation has debating
 Of church-affairs with bear-baiting ?
 A just comparison still is 855

Of things *ejusdem generis* :
 And then what *genus* rightly doth
 Include, and comprehend them both ?³
 If animal, both of us may
 As justly pass for bears as they ; 860

For we are animals no less,
 Although of diff'rent specieses.⁴
 But, Ralpho, this is no fit place,
 Nor time, to argue out the case :
 For now the field is not far off, 865
 Where we must give the world a proof

¹ Great cry and little wool, as they say when any one talks much, and proves nothing.

² The following lines are substituted, in some editions, for 849 and 850 :—

Thou wilt at best but suck a bull,
 Or shear swine, all cry and no wool ;

Such a bull is explained by the proverb, "As wise as Waltham's Calf, that ran nine miles to suck a bull." See Handbook of Proverbs, p. 322.

³ The first and second editions read :

Compr'hend them *inclusivè* both.

⁴ The additional syllable is humorous, and no doubt intended.

Of deeds, not words, and such as suit
 Another manner of dispute :
 A controversy that affords
 Actions for arguments, not words ; 870
 Which we must manage at a rate
 Of prowess and conduct, adequate
 To what our place and fame doth promise,
 And all the godly expect from us.
 Nor shall they be deceived, unless 875
 W' are slurr'd and outed by success ;
 Success, the mark no mortal wit
 Or surest hand can always hit :
 For whatsoe'er we perpetrate,
 We do but row, w' are steer'd by fate,¹ 880
 Which in success oft disinherits,
 For spurious causes, noblest merits.
 Great actions are not always true sons
 Of great and mighty resolutions ;
 Nor do the bold'st attempts bring forth 885
 Events still equal to their worth ;
 But sometimes fail, and in their stead
 Fortune and cowardice succeed.
 Yet we have no great cause to doubt,
 Our actions still have borne us out ; 890
 Which, tho' they're known to be so ample,
 We need not copy from example ;
 We're not the only persons durst
 Attempt this province, nor the first.
 In northern clime a val'rous knight² 895
 Did whilom kill his bear in fight,
 And wound a fiddler : we have both
 Of these the objects of our wroth,
 And equal fame and glory from
 Th' attempt, or victory to come. 900

¹ The Presbyterians were great fatalists, and set up the doctrine of pre-destination to meet all contingencies.

² Hudibras encourages himself by two precedents ; first, that of a gentleman who killed a bear and wounded a fiddler ; and secondly, that of Sir Samuel Luke, who had often, as a magistrate, been engaged in similar adventures.

'Tis sung, there is a valiant Mamaluke
 In foreign land, yclep'd ——¹
 To whom we have been oft compared
 For person, parts, address, and beard;
 Both equally reputed stout, 905
 And in the same Cause both have fought.
 He oft, in such attempts as these,
 Came off with glory and success:
 Nor will we fail in th' execution,
 For want of equal resolution. 910
 Honour is, like a widow, won
 With brisk attempt, and putting on;
 With ent'ring manfully and urging;
 Not slow approaches, like a virgin.²
 This said, as erst the Phrygian knight,³ 915
 So ours, with rusty steel did smite
 His Trojan horse, and just as much
 He mended pace upon the touch;
 But from his empty stomach groan'd,
 Just as that hollow beast did sound, 920
 And, angry, answer'd from behind,
 With brandish'd tail and blast of wind.
 So have I seen, with armed heel,
 A wight bestride a Common-weal,⁴

¹ Sir Samuel Luke. See the note at line 14. The Mamalukes were persons carried off, in their childhood, from various provinces of the Ottoman empire, and sold in Constantinople and Grand Cairo. They often rose first to be cachefs or lieutenants; and then to be beys or petty tyrants. In like manner in the English civil wars, many rose from the lowest rank in life to considerable power.

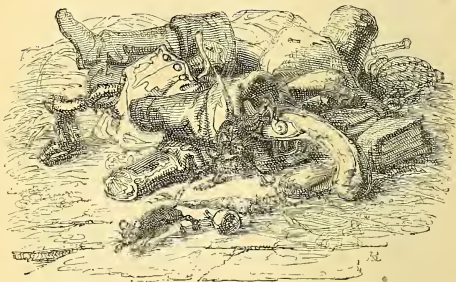
² These four lines are no doubt in allusion to a celebrated but somewhat indecent proverb, first quoted in *Nath. Smith's Quakers' Spiritual Court*, 1669, and adopted by Ray, with an amusing apology. See *Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs*, page 43.

³ Laocoon; who, at the siege of Troy, susoeeting treachery, struck the wooden horse with his spear.

⁴ Our poet might possibly have in mind a print engraved in Holland. It represented a cow, the emblem of the Common-wealth, with the King of Spain on her back kicking and spurring her; the Queen of England before, stopping and feeding her; the Prince of Orange milking her; and the Duke of Anjou behind pulling her back by the tail. After the Spaniards, in a war of forty years, had spent an hundred millions of crowns, and had lost four hundred thousand men, they were forced to acknowledge the independence of the Dutch.

While still the more he kick'd and spurr'd, 925
The less the sullen jade has stirr'd.¹

¹ Mr Butler had been witness to the refractory humour of the nation, not only under the weak government of Richard Cromwell, but in many instances under the resolute management of Oliver.





PART II. CANTO II.



ARGUMENT.

The catalogue and character
Of th' enemy's best men of war ;¹
Whom, in a bold harangue, the Knight²
Defies, and challenges to fight :
H' encounters Talgol, routs the Bear,
And takes the Fiddler prisoner ;
Conveys him to enchanted castle,
There shuts him fast in wooden Bastile.

¹ Butler's description of the combatants resembles the list of warriors in the Iliad and Æneid, and especially the laboured characters in the Theban war, both in Æschylus and Euripides. See *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 383; *Supplices*, v. 362; *Phœnis*, v. 1139.

² In the first edition this and the next two lines stand thus :

To whom the Knight does make a Speech,
And they defie him : after which
He fights with Talgol, routs the Bear,

PART I. CANTO II.



HERE was an ancient sage philosopher ¹
 That had read Alexander Ross over, ²
 And swore the world, as he could prove,
 Was made of fighting, and of love.
 Just so romances are, for what else 5
 Is in them all but love and battles? ³
 O' th' first of these w' have no great matter
 To treat of, but a world o' th' latter :
 In which to do the injured right,
 We mean in what concerns just fight. 10
 Certes, our Authors are to blame,
 For to make some well-sounding name
 A pattern fit for modern knights
 To copy out in frays and fights,
 Like those that do a whole street raze, 15
 To build a palace in the place ; ⁴
 They never care how many others
 They kill, without regard of mothers,

¹ Empedocles, a Pythagorean philosopher and poet, held that concord and discord were the two principles (one formative, the other destructive) which regulated the four elements that compose the universe. The great anachronism in these two celebrated lines increases the humour. Empedocles lived about 2100 years before Alexander Ross.

² Alexander Ross was a very voluminous writer, and chaplain to Charles the First. He wrote a "View of all Religions," which had a large sale ; an answer to Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudoxia and Religio Medici* ; Commentaries on Hobbes ; *Mystagogus Poeticus*, or the Muses' Interpreter ; and many other works. Addison, in the *Spectator*, No. 60, says, he has heard these lines of Hudibras more frequently quoted than the finest pieces of wit in the whole poem, observing that the jingle of the double rhyme has something in it that tickles the ear.

³ Mr Butler, in his MS. Common Place-book, says,

Love and fighting is the sum
 Of all romances, from Tom Thumb
 To Arthur, Gondibert, and Hudibras.

⁴ Alluding, it is supposed, to the Protector Somerset, who, in the reign of Edward VI., pulled down two churches, part of St Paul's, and three bishops' houses, to build Somerset House in the Strand.

Or wives, or children, so they can
 Make up some fierce, dead-doing man, 20
 Composed of many ingredient valours,
 Just like the manhood of nine tailors.
 So a wild Tartar, when he spies
 A man that's handsome, valiant, wise,
 If he can kill him, thinks t' inherit 25
 His wit, his beauty, and his spirit; ¹
 As if just so much he enjoy'd,
 As in another is destroy'd:
 For when a giant's slain in fight,
 And mow'd o'erthwart, or cleft downright, 30
 It is a heavy case, no doubt,
 A man should have his brains beat out,
 Because he's tall, and has large bones,²
 As men kill beavers for their stones.³
 But, as for our part, we shall tell 35
 The naked truth of what befell,
 And as an equal friend to both
 The Knight and Bear, but more to troth;
 With neither faction shall take part,
 But give to each his due desert, 40
 And never coin a formal lie on't,
 To make the Knight o'ercome the giant.
 This b'ing profest, we've hopes enough,
 And now go on where we left off.
 They rode, but authors having not 45
 Determin'd whether pace or trot,
 That is to say, whether tollutation,⁴
 As they do term't, or succussation,⁵

¹ In Carazan, a province of Tartary, Dr Heylin says, "they have an use, when any stranger comes into their houses of an handsome shape, to kill him in the night; that the soul of such a comely person might remain among them." See also Spectator, No. 126.

² Alluding probably to the case of Lord Capel and other brave cavaliers, whom the Independents "durst not let live."

³ Their testes were supposed to furnish a medicinal drug of value. See Juvenal, Sat. xii. l. 34. Browne's Vulgar Errors, III. 4.

⁴ Tollutation is pacing, or ambling, moving *per latera*, as Sir Thomas Browne says, that is, lifting both legs of one side together.

⁵ Succussation, or trotting, is lifting one foot before, and the cross foot behind.

We leave it, and go on, as now
 Suppose they did, no matter how ; 50
 Yet some, from subtle hints, have got
 Mysterious light it was a trot :
 But let that pass ; they now begun
 To spur their living engines on :
 For as whipp'd tops and bandied balls, 55
 The learned hold, are animals ;¹
 So horses they affirm to be
 Mere engines made by geometry ;
 And were invented first from engines,
 As Indian Britons were from Penguins.² 60
 So let them be, and, as I was saying,
 They their live engines plied,³ not staying
 Until they reach'd the fatal champaign
 Which th' enemy did then encamp on ;
 The dire Pharsalian plain,⁴ where battle 65
 Was to be waged 'twixt puissant cattle,
 And fierce auxiliary men,
 That came to aid their brethren ;
 Who now began to take the field,
 As knight from ridge of steed beheld. 70

¹ Alluding to the atomic theory. Democritus, Epicurus, &c., and some of the moderns likewise, as Des Cartes, Hobbes, and others, deny that there is a vital principle in animals, and maintain that life and sensation are generated from the contexture of atoms, and are nothing but local motion and mechanism. By which argument tops and balls in motion are presumed to be as much animated as dogs and horses.

² This is meant to ridicule the opinion adopted by Selden, that America had formerly been discovered by the Britons or Welsh ; inferred from the similarity of some words in the two languages, especially Penguin, the British name of a bird with a white head, which in America signifies a white rock. Butler implies, that it is just as likely horses were derived from engines, as that the Britons came from Penguins. Mr Selden, in his note on Drayton's Polyolbion, says, that Madoc, brother to David ap Owen, Prince of Wales, made a sea-voyage to Florida, about the year 1170, and Humphry Llwyd, in his history of Wales, reports, that one Madoc, son of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, some hundred years before Columbus discovered the West Indies, sailed into those parts, and planted a colony ; an idea which Southey has beautifully developed in his "Madoc."

³ That is, Hudibras and his Squire spurred their horses.

⁴ Alluding to Pharsalia, where Julius Cæsar gained his signal victory over Pompey the Great, of which see *Lucan's Pharsalia*.

For, as our modern wits behold,
 Mounted a pick-back on the old,¹
 Much further off; much further he
 Rais'd on his aged beast, could see;
 Yet not sufficient to descrie 75
 All postures of the enemy;
 Wherefore he bids the squire ride further,
 T' observe their numbers, and their order;
 That when their motions he had known,
 He might know how to fit his own. 80
 Meanwhile he stopp'd his willing steed,
 To fit himself for martial deed:
 Both kinds of metal he prepared,
 Either to give blows, or to ward;
 Courage and steel, both of great force, 85
 Prepared for better, or for worse.²
 His death-charged pistols he did fit well,
 Drawn out from life-preserving vittle;³
 These being primed, with force he labour'd
 To free's blade from retentive scabbard; 90
 And after many a painful pluck,
 From rusty durance he bail'd tuck:⁴
 Then shook himself, to see that prowess
 In scabbard of his arms sat loose;
 And, raised upon his desp'rate foot, 95
 On stirrup-side he gazed about,⁵
 Portending blood, like blazing star,
 The beacon of approaching war.⁶

¹ Ridiculing the disputes formerly subsisting between the advocates for ancient and modern learning. Sir William Temple observes: that as to knowledge, the moderns must have more than the ancients, because they have the advantage both of theirs and their own: which is commonly illustrated by a dwarf standing upon a giant's shoulders, and therefore seeing more and further than the giant.

² These two lines, 85 and 86, were in the later editions altered to—
 Courage within and steel without,
 To give and to receive a rout.

³ The reader will remember how the holsters were furnished. See note at p. 19.

⁴ Altered in later editions to—He cleared at length the rugged tuck.

⁵ It will be seen at Canto i. line 407, that he had but one stirrup.

⁶ Comets and Meteors were held to be portentous. See *Spenser on Prodigies*, 1658.

The Squire advanced with greater speed
 Than could b' expected from his steed ;¹ 100
 But far more in returning made ;
 For now the foe he had survey'd,²
 Ranged, as to him they did appear,
 With van, main battle, wings, and rear.
 I' th' head of all this warlike rabble, 105
 Crowdero march'd, expert and able.³
 Instead of trumpet, and of drum,
 That makes the warrior's stomach come,
 Whose noise whets valour sharp, like beer
 By thunder turn'd to vinegar ; 110
 For if a trumpet sound, or drum beat,
 Who has not a month's mind⁴ to combat ?
 A squeaking engine he applied
 Unto his neck, on north-east side,⁵
 Just where the hangman does dispose, 115
 To special friends, the fatal noose :⁶
 For 'tis great grace, when statesmen straight
 Despatch a friend, let others wait.
 His warped ear hung o'er the strings,
 Which was but souse to chitterlings :⁷ 120

¹ In the original edition, these two lines were :—

Ralpho rode on with no less speed
 Than Hugo in the forest did.

Hugo was scout-master to Gondibert, and was sent in advance to reconnoitre.

² The first two editions read :—

But with a great deal more return'd,
 For now the foe he had discern'd.

³ A nick-name, taken from the instrument he used : Crowde, a fiddle, from the Welsh *crwth*. The original of this character is supposed to be one Jackson a milliner, who lived in the New Exchange, in the Strand. He had lost a leg in the service of the Roundheads, and was reduced to the necessity of fiddling from one ale-house to another for his bread.

⁴ Used ironically, for no very strong desire. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the term 'a month's mind' is derived from a woman's longing in her first month of gestation.

⁵ It is difficult to say, why Butler calls the left the north-east side. Possibly it is a conceit suggested by the card of a mariner's compass ; the north point, with its Fleur-de-lis representing Crowdero's head ; and then the fiddle would be placed at the north-east, when played.

⁶ The noose is usually placed under the left ear.

⁷ Souse is the pig's ear, and chitterlings are the pig's guts : the former

For guts, some write, ere they are sodden,
 Are fit for music, or for pudden ;
 From whence men borrow every kind
 Of minstrelsy, by string or wind.¹
 His grisly beard was long and thick, 125
 With which he strung his fiddle-stick ;
 For he to horse-tail scorn'd to owe
 For what on his own chin did grow.
 Chiron, the four-legg'd bard,² had both
 A beard and tail of his own growth ; 130
 And yet by authors 'tis averr'd,
 He made use only of his beard.
 In Staffordshire, where virtuous worth
 Does raise the minstrelsy, not birth :³
 Where bulls do choose the boldest king⁴ 135
 And ruler o'er the men of string ;
 As once in Persia, 'tis said,
 Kings were proclaim'd b' a horse that neigh'd ;⁵

alludes to Crowdero's ear, which lay upon the fiddle ; the latter to the strings of the fiddle, which are made of catgut.

¹ This whimsical notion is borrowed from a chapter 'de peditu,' in the *Facetiæ Facietiarum*, afterwards amplified in Dean Swift's *Benefit of F—g explained*, where Dr Blow is quoted as asserting in his 'Fundaments' of Music, that the first discovery of harmony was owing to persons of different sizes and sexes sounding different notes of music from their fundaments. An Essay equally whimsical, on the origin of wind-music, will be found in the *Spectator*, No. 361. An anonymous Essay on this subject is attributed to the Hon. C. J. Fox.

² Chiron the Centaur, who, besides being the most famous physician of his time, and teacher of Æsculapius, was an expert musician, and Apollo's governor. He now forms the Sagittarius of the Zodiac.

³ The Minstrel's Charter and Ceremonies are given in *Plott's Staffordshire*, p. 436.

⁴ This alludes to the custom of bull-running in the manor of Tutbury in Staffordshire, where was a charter granted by John of Gaunt, and confirmed by Henry VI., appointing a king of the minstrels, who was to have a bull for his property, which should be turned out by the prior of Tutbury, if his minstrels, or any one of them, could cut off a piece of his skin before he ran into Derbyshire ; but if the bull got into that county sound and unhurt, the prior was to have his bull again. This custom, being productive of much mischief, was, at the request of the inhabitants and by order of the Duke of Devonshire, lord of the manor, discontinued about the year 1788.

⁵ Darius, elected King of Persia, under the agreement of the seven princes, who met on horseback, that the crown should devolve on him whose horse neighed first. By the ingenious device of his groom, the horse of Darius

He, bravely vent'ring at a crown,
 By chance of war was beaten down, 140
 And wounded sore: his leg, then broke,
 Had got a deputy of oak;
 For when a shin in fight is cropt,
 The knee with one of timber's propt,
 Esteem'd more honourable than the other, 145
 And takes place, tho' the younger brother.¹
 Next march'd brave Orsin,² famous for
 Wise conduct, and success in war;
 A skilful leader, stout, severe,
 Now marshal to the champion bear. 150
 With truncheon tipp'd with iron head,
 The warrior to the lists he led;
 With solemn march, and stately pace,
 But far more grave and solemn face;
 Grave as the Emperor of Pegu,³ 155
 Or Spanish potentate, Don Diego.⁴
 This leader was of knowledge great,
 Either for charge, or for retreat:
 Knew when t' engage his bear pell-mell,
 And when to bring him off as well.⁵ 160
 So lawyers, lest the bear defendant,
 And plaintiff dog, should make an end on't,
 Do stave and tail with writs of error,⁶
 Reverse of judgment, and demurrer,

was the first to neigh, which secured the throne for his master. See the story at length in Herodotus, lib. iii.; and in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn's Edit., vol. iii. p. 124).

¹ A person with a wooden leg generally puts that leg first in walking.

² Orsin is only a name for a bearward. See Ben Jonson's *Masque of Augurs*. The person intended is Joshua Gosling, who kept bears at Paris Garden, Southwark.

³ See Purchas's *Pilgrims*, V. b. 5, c. 4, or Mandelso and Olearius's *Travels*.

⁴ See Purchas's *Pilgrims*, also *Lady's Travels into Spain* (by the Countess D'Aunois) 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1722.

⁵ In the original edition these lines were—

He knew when to fall on pell-mell,
 To fall back and retreat as well.

⁶ The comparison of a lawyer with a bearward is here kept up: the one parts his clients, and keeps them at bay by writ of error and demurrer, as the latter does the dogs and the bear, by interposing his staff or stave, and

To let them breathe awhile, and then 165
 Cry whoop, and set them on again.
 As Romulus a wolf did rear,
 So he was dry-nursed by a bear,¹
 That fed him with the purchased prey
 Of many a fierce and bloody fray ; 170
 Bred up, where discipline most rare is,
 In military garden Paris :²
 For soldiers heretofore did grow
 In gardens, just as weeds do now,
 Until some splay-foot politicians 175
 T' Apollo offer'd up petitions,³
 For licensing a new invention
 They'd found out, of an antique engine
 To root out all the weeds, that grow
 In public gardens, at a blow, 180
 And leave th' herbs standing. Quoth Sir Sun,⁴
 My friends, that is not to be done.
 Not done ? quoth Statesmen: Yes, an't please ye,
 When 'tis once known you'll say 'tis easy.
 Why then let's know it, quoth Apollo. 185
 We'll beat a drum, and they'll all follow.

holding the dogs by the tails. The bitterness of the satire may be accounted for by the poet's having married a widow, whom he thought possessed of a great fortune ; but being placed on bad security, perhaps through the unskilfulness or roguery of a lawyer, it was lost. In his MS. Common-place Book he says the lawyer never ends a suit, but prunes it, that it may grow the faster, and yield a greater increase of strife.

¹ That is, maintained by the profits derived by the exhibition of his bear. It probably alludes also, as Grey suggests, to Orson (in the story of Valentine and Orson), who was suckled by a bear.

² At Paris Garden, in Southwark, near the river-side, there was a circus, long noted for the entertainment of bear-baiting, which was forbidden in the time of the civil wars. The 'military garden' refers to a society instituted by James I., for training soldiers, who used to practise at Paris Garden.

³ The whole passage, here a little inverted, by the satirist's humour, is taken from Boccacini's Advertisement from Parnassus, where the gardeners entreat Apollo, who had invented drums and trumpets by which princes could destroy their wild and rebellious subjects, to teach them some such easy method of destroying weeds.

⁴ Apollo, after the fashion of chivalry, is here designated "Sir Sun." The expression is used by Sir Philip Sydney in Pembroke's Arcadia.

A drum! quoth Phœbus; Troth, that's true,
 A pretty invention, quaint and new:
 But tho' of voice and instrument
 We are th' undoubted president, 190
 We such loud music do not profess;
 The devil's master of that office,
 Where it must pass; if't be a drum,
 He'll sign it with *Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.*¹
 To him apply yourselves, and he 195
 Will soon despatch you for his fee.
 They did so, but it proved so ill,
 They'ad better let 'em grow there still.²
 But to resume what we discoursing
 Were on before, that is, stout Orsin; 200
 That which so oft by sundry writers,
 Has been applied t' almost all fighters,
 More justly may b' ascribed to this
 Than any other warrior, *viz.*
 None ever acted both parts bolder, 205
 Both of a chieftain and a soldier.
 He was of great descent, and high
 For splendour and antiquity,
 And from celestial origine,
 Derived himself in a right line. 210
 Not as the ancient heroes did,
 Who, that their base births might be hid,³
 Knowing they were of doubtful gender,
 And that they came in at a windore,⁴
 Made Jupiter himself, and others 215
 O' th' gods, gallants to their own mothers,

¹ During the civil wars, the Rump parliament granted patents for new inventions; these, and all other orders and ordinances, were signed by their clerk, with this addition to his name—Clerk of the Parliament House of Commons. Apollo sends the petitioners to that assembly, which he tells them is directed and governed by the devil, who will sanction the grant with the usual signature.

² The expedient of arming the discontented and unprincipled multitude is adventurous, and often proves fatal to the state.

³ See Ion's address to his mother Creusa, when she had told him that he was son of Apollo. Euripides (Bohn's Transl. vol. ii. p. 121); also Spectator, p. 630.

⁴ Wind-door is still the provincial term for "window."

To get on them a race of champions,
 Of which old Homer first made lampoons.
 Arctophylax, in northern sphere,¹
 Was his undoubted ancestor ; 220
 From whom his great forefathers came,
 And in all ages bore his name :
 Learned he was in med'c'nal lore,
 For by his side a pouch he wore,
 Replete with strange hermetic powder,² 225
 That wounds nine miles point-blank would solder;³
 By skilful chymist, with great cost,
 Extracted from a rotten post ;⁴
 But of a heav'nlier influence
 Than that which mountebanks dispense ; 230
 Tho' by Promethean fire made,⁵
 As they do quack that drive that trade.
 For as when slovens do amiss
 At others' doors, by stool or piss,
 The learned write, a red-hot spit 235
 Being prudently applied to it,
 Will convey mischief from the dung⁶
 Unto the breech⁷ that did the wrong ;
 So this did healing, and as sure
 As that did mischief, this would cure. 240
 Thus virtuous Orsin was endued
 With learning, conduct, fortitude
 Incomparable ; and as the prince
 Of poets, Homer, sung long since,

¹ Butler makes the constellation Bootes—which lies in the rear of Ursa Major—the mythological ancestor of the bearward Orsin.

² Hermetic, i. e. chemical. The Hermetical philosophy was so called from Hermes Trismegistus.

³ A banter on the famous sympathetic powder, which was to effect the cure of wounds at a distance, and was much in vogue in the reign of James the First. See Sir Kenelm Digby's "Discourse of the cure of wounds by the powder of sympathy." London, 1644.

⁴ Useless powders in medicine are called powders of post.

⁵ That is, heat of the sun. The story of Prometheus is very amusingly told by Dean Swift, in No. 14 of his 'Intelligencer.'

⁶ Still ridiculing the sympathetic powder. See Sir K. Digby's treatise, where the poet's story of the spit is seriously told.

⁷ Thus in the first edition ; altered in the later ones to "part."

A skilful leech is better far, 245
 Than half a hundred men of war ;¹
 So he appear'd, and by his skill,
 No less than dint of sword, could kill.
 The gallant Bruin march'd next him,
 With visage formidably grim, 250
 And rugged as a Saracen,
 Or Turk of Mahomet's own kin,²
 Clad in a mantle *de la guerre*
 Of rough, impenetrable fur ; 255
 And in his nose, like Indian king,
 He wore, for ornament, a ring ;
 About his neck a threefold gorget,
 As rough as trebled leathern target ;
 Armed, as heralds cant, and langued,
 Or, as the vulgar say, sharp-fanged : 260
 For as the teeth in beasts of prey
 Are swords, with which they fight in fray,
 So swords, in men of war, are teeth,
 Which they do eat their victual with.
 He was by birth, some authors write, 265
 A Russian, some a Muscovite,
 And 'mong the Cossacks³ had been bred,
 Of whom we in diurnals read,
 That serve to fill up pages here,
 As with their bodies ditches there.⁴ 270
 Scrimansky was his cousin-german,⁵
 With whom he served, and fed on vermin ;

¹ See Homer's Iliad, b. xi. line 514. Leech is the old Saxon term for physician.

² Sandys, in his Travels, observes, that the Turks are generally well complexioned, of good stature, except Mahomet's kindred, who are the most ill-favoured people upon earth, branded, perhaps, by God for the sin of their seducing ancestor.

³ The Cossacks are a people living near Poland, on the borders of the Don, whence the term "Don Cossack." Grey derives that name from Cosa, the Polish for a goat, to which they are compared for their extraordinary nimbleness and wandering habits.

⁴ The story of the Russian soldiers marching into the ditch at the siege of Schweidnitz is well known. The Cossacks had, in Butler's time, recently put themselves under the protection of Russia.

⁵ Some favourite bear perhaps ; or a caricatured Russian name.

And, when these fail'd, he'd suck his claws,
 And quarter himself upon his paws.
 And tho' his countrymen, the Huns, 275
 Did stew their meat between their bums
 And th' horses' backs o'er which they straddle,¹
 And every man ate up his saddle ;
 He was not half so nice as they,
 But ate it raw when't came in's way. 280
 He had traced countries far and near,
 More than Le Blanc the traveller ;
 Who writes, he 'spoused in India,²
 Of noble house, a lady gay,
 And got on her a race of worthies, 285
 As stout as any upon earth is.
 Full many a fight for him between
 Talgol and Orsin oft had been,
 Each striving to deserve the crown
 Of a saved citizen ;³ the one 290
 To guard his bear, the other fought
 To aid his dog ; both made more stout
 By sev'ral spurs of neighbourhood,
 Church-fellow-membership, and blood ;
 But Talgol, mortal foe to cows, 295
 Never got ought of him but blows ;
 Blows hard and heavy, such as he
 Had lent, repaid with usury.
 Yet Talgol⁴ was of courage stout,
 And vanquish'd oft'ner than he fought ; 300
 Inured to labour, sweat, and toil,
 And like a champion, shone with oil.⁵

¹ This fact is related by Ammianus Marcellinus. With such fare did Azim Khan entertain Jenkinson, and other Englishmen, in their Travels to the Caspian Sea from the river Volga. See Busbequius' Letters, Ep. iv.

² Le Blanc tells the story of Aganda, a king's daughter, who married a bear.

³ He, who saved the life of a Roman citizen, was entitled to a civic crown ; and so, says our author, were Talgol and Orsin, who fought hard to save the lives of their dogs and bears.

⁴ Talgol was, we are told by Sir Roger L'Estrange, a butcher in Newgate Market, who afterwards obtained a captain's commission for his *rebellious* bravery at Naseby.

⁵ The greasiness of a butcher compared with that of the Greek and Roman wrestlers, who anointed themselves with oil to make their joints supple.

Right many a widow his keen blade,
 And many fatherless, had made.
 He many a boar and huge dun-cow 305
 Did, like another Guy, o'erthrow ;¹
 But Guy, with him in fight compared,
 Had like the boar or dun-cow fared.
 With greater troops of sheep h' had fought
 Than Ajax, or bold Don Quixote ;² 310
 And many a serpent of fell kind,
 With wings before, and stings behind,³
 Subdued ; as poets say, long ago,
 Bold Sir George St George did the dragon.⁴
 Nor engine, nor device polemic, 315
 Disease, nor doctor epidemic,⁵
 Tho' stored with deletery med'cines,
 Which whosoever took is dead since,
 E'er sent so vast a colony
 To both the under worlds as he.⁶ 320

¹ Guy, Earl of Warwick, one of whose valiant exploits was overcoming the dun-cow at Dunsmore-heath, in Warwickshire.

² Ajax, when mad with rage for having failed to obtain the armour of Achilles, attacked and slew a flock of sheep, mistaking them for the Grecian princes who had decided against him. In like manner Don Quixote encountered a flock of sheep, and imagined they were the giant Alifanfaron of Taprobana.

³ Meaning the flies, wasps, and hornets, which prey upon the butchers' meat, and were killed by the valiant Talgol.

⁴ Sir George, because tradition makes him a soldier as well as a saint. All heroes in romance have the appellation of Sir, as Sir Belianis of Greece, Sir Palmerin, &c. But there was a real Sir George St George, who in February, 1643, was made commissioner for the government of Connaught ; and it is not improbable that this coincidence of names might strike the playful imagination of Mr Butler. It is whimsical too, that General George Monk (afterwards Sir George), in a collection of loyal songs, is said to have slain a most cruel dragon, meaning the Rump parliament. Or perhaps the poet might mean to ridicule the presbyterians, who refused even to call the apostles Peter and Paul saints, but in mockery called them Sir Peter, Sir Paul, &c.

⁵ There is humour in joining the epithet *epidemic* to the doctor as well as the disease, intimating that there is no condition of the air more dangerous than the vicinity of a quack.

⁶ Virgil, in his sixth Æneid, describes both the Elysian Fields and Tartarus as below, and not far asunder.

For he was of that noble trade
 That demi-gods and heroes made,¹
 Slaughter, and knocking on the head,
 The trade to which they all were bred ;
 And is, like others, glorious when 325
 'Tis great and large, but base, if mean :²
 The former rides in triumph for it,
 The latter in a two-wheel'd chariot,
 For daring to profane a thing
 So sacred, with vile bungle-ing.³ 330

Next these the brave Magnano came,
 Magnano, great in martial fame ;
 Yet, when with Orsin he waged fight,
 'Tis sung he got but little by't :
 Yet he was fierce as forest boar, 335
 Whose spoils upon his back he wore,⁴
 As thick as Ajax' seven-fold shield,
 Which o'er his brazen arms he held ;
 But brass was feeble to resist
 The fury of his armed fist ; 340
 Nor could the hardest iron hold out
 Against his blows, but they would through't.
 In magic he was deeply read,
 As he that made the brazen head ;⁵

¹ Satirizing those that pride themselves on their military achievements. The general who massacres thousands is called great and glorious ; the assassin who kills a single man is hanged at Tyburn.

² Julius Cæsar is said to have fought fifty battles, and to have killed of the Gauls alone eleven hundred ninety-two thousand men, and as many more in his civil wars. In the inscription which Pompey placed in the temple of Minerva, he professed that he had slain, or vanquished and taken, two millions one hundred and eighty-three thousand men.

³ Simon Wait, a tinker, as famous an Independent preacher as Burroughs, who with equal blasphemy would style Oliver Cromwell the archangel giving battle to the devil.

⁴ Meaning his budget made of pig's skin.

⁵ The device of the brazen head, which was to speak a prophecy at a certain time, had by some been imputed to Grosse-tête, Bishop of Lincoln, as appears from the poet Gower ; by others to Albertus Magnus. But the generality of writers, and our poet among the rest, have ascribed it to Roger Bacon, whose great knowledge caused him to be reputed a magician. Some, however, believe the story of the head to be nothing more than a moral fable.

Profoundly skill'd in the black art, 345
 As English Merlin, for his heart ;¹
 But far more skilful in the spheres,
 Than he was at the sieve and shears.²
 He could transform himself to colour,
 As like the devil as a collier ;³ 350
 As like as hypocrites in show
 Are to true saints, or crow to crow.
 Of warlike engines he was author,
 Devised for quick despatch of slaughter :
 The cannon, blunderbuss, and saker, 355
 He was th' inventor of, and maker :
 The trumpet and the kettle-drum
 Did both from his invention come.
 He was the first that e'er did teach
 To make, and how to stop, a breach. 360
 A lance he bore with iron pike,
 Th' one half would thrust, the other strike ;
 And when their forces he had join'd,
 He scorn'd to turn his parts behind.
 He Trulla loved,⁵ Trulla, more bright 365
 Than burnish'd armour of her knight ;
 A bold virago, stout, and tall,
 As Joan of France, or English Mall.⁶

¹ William Lilly the astrologer, who adopted the title of *Merlinus Anglicus* in some of his publications.

² The literal sense would be, that he was skilful in the heavenly spheres ; that is, astrology ; but a sphere is anything round, and the tinker's skill lay in mending pots and kettles, which are commonly of that shape. There was a kind of divination practised by means of a sieve, which was put upon the point of a pair of shears, and expected to turn round when the person or thing inquired after was named. This silly method of applying for information is mentioned by Theocritus, as *Coscinomancy*. (See Bohn's Transl. p. 19.)

³ Alluding to a common proverb, "Like will to like, as the devil said to the collier." Handbook of Proverbs, p. 111.

⁴ Tinkers are said to mend one hole, and make two.

⁵ Trull is a low profligate woman, that follows the camp, or takes up with a strolling tinker. Trulla signifies the same in Italian. The person here alluded to was a daughter of James Spencer, debauched by Magnano the tinker.

⁶ Joan of Arc, celebrated as the Maid of Orleans. English Moll was famous about the year 1670. Her real name was Mary Carlton ; but she was more commonly known as Kentish Moll, or the German princess.

Through perils both of wind and limb,
 Through thick and thin she follow'd him 370
 In every adventure h' undertook ;
 And never him, or it forsook.
 At breach of wall, or hedge surprise,
 She shared i' th' hazard, and the prize :
 At beating quarters up, or forage, 375
 Behaved herself with matchless courage ;
 And laid about in fight more busily
 Than th' Amazonian Dame Penthesile.¹
 And tho' some critics here cry Shame,
 And say our authors are to blame, 380
 That ; spite of all philosophers,
 Who hold no females stout but bears,
 And heretofore did so abhor
 That women should pretend to war,
 They would not suffer the stout'st dame 385
 To swear by Hercules his name ;²
 Make feeble ladies, in their works,
 To fight like termagants and Turks ;³

She was transported to Jamaica in 1671 ; and being soon after discovered at large, was hanged at Tyburn, January 22, 1672-3. So far Dr Grey. Bp Percy thinks it more probable that Butler alluded to the valorous Mary Ambree, celebrated in a ballad, contained in his 'Reliques,' 2nd ser. book ii. But it is more likely than either, that he meant Moll Cutpurse (Mary Frith), to whom Shakspeare, Twelfth Night, Act ii. s. 3, alludes. See a long note on the subject in Johnson and Steevens' Shakspeare, edited by Isaac Reed, 1803, vol. v. pages 254—56, where Dr Grey's notion is expressly corrected. The life of Moll Cutpurse was printed in 1662, with a portrait of her, copied in Caulfield's "Remarkable Persons."

¹ Queen of the Amazons, killed by Achilles. In the first editions it is printed Pen-thesile. See her story in any *Classical Dictionary*.

² Men and women, among the Romans, did not use the same oath, or swear by the same deity. According to Macrobius, the men did not swear by Castor, nor the women by Hercules ; but *Edepol*, or swearing by Pollux, was common to both.

³ The word termagant now signifies a noisy and troublesome female. In Chaucer's rhyme of Sire Thopas, it appears to be the name of a deity. And Hamlet says (Act iii. sc. 2), "I would have such a fellow whipp'd for o'erdoing Termagant, it out-herods Herod." Mr Tyrwhitt states that this Saracen deity is called Tervagan, in an old MS. romance in the Bodleian Library. Bishop Warburton observes, that this passage is a fine satire on the Italian epic poets, Ariosto, Tasso, and others ; who have introduced their female warriors, and are followed in this absurdity by Spenser and Davenant.

To lay their native arms aside,
 Their modesty, and ride astride ;¹ 390
 To run a-tilt at men, and wield
 Their naked tools in open field ;
 As stout Armida, bold Thalestris,²
 And she that would have been the mistress
 Of Gondibert, but he had grace, 395
 And rather took a country lass :³
 They say 'tis false, without all sense
 But of pernicious consequence
 To government, which they suppose
 Can never be upheld in prose ;⁴ 400
 Strip nature naked to the skin,
 You'll find about her no such thing.
 It may be so, yet what we tell
 Of Trulla, that's improbable,
 Shall be deposed by those have seen't, 405
 Or, what's as good, produced in print ;⁵
 And if they will not take our word,
 We'll prove it true upon record.
 The upright Cerdon next advanc't,⁶
 Of all his race the valiant'st ; 410
 Cerdon the Great, renown'd in song,
 Like Herc'les, for repair of wrong :
 He raised the low, and fortified
 The weak against the strongest side.⁷

¹ Camden says that Anne, wife of Richard II., daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., taught the English women the present mode of riding, about the year 1388 ; before which time they rode astride. And Gower, in a poem dated 1394, describing a company of ladies on horseback, says, "everich one ride on side."

² Two formidable women-at-arms, in romances, that were cudgelled into love by their gallants. See *Classical Dictionary*.

³ It was the humble BIRTHA, daughter of the sage Astragon, who supplanted the princess Rhodalind in the affections of Gondibert.

⁴ Butler loses no opportunity of rallying Sir William Davenant, who, in his preface to Gondibert, endeavours to show that government could not be upheld either by statesmen, divines, lawyers, or soldiers, without the aid of poetry.

⁵ The vulgar imagine that everything which they see in print must be true.

⁶ A one-eyed cobbler, and great reformer : there is an equivoue upon the word upright.

⁷ Meaning that he supplied and pieced the heels, and strengthened a weak sole.

Ill has he read, that never hit 415
 On him in muses' deathless writ.
 He had a weapon keen and fierce,¹
 That thro' a bull-hide shield would pierce,
 And cut it in a thousand pieces,
 Tho' tougher than the Knight of Greece his,² 420
 With whom his black-thumb'd ancestor³
 Was comrade in the ten years' war :
 For when the restless Greeks sat down
 So many years before Troy town,
 And were renown'd, as Homer writes, 425
 For well-soled boots no less than fights ;⁴
 They owed that glory only to
 His ancestor, that made them so.
 Fast friend he was to Reformation,
 Until 'twas worn quite out of fashion ; 430
 Next rectifier of wry law,
 And would make three to cure one flaw.
 Learned he was, and could take note,
 Transcribe, collect, translate, and quote :
 But preaching was his chiefest talent,⁵ 435
 Or argument, in which being valiant,
 He used to lay about, and stickle,
 Like ram or bull at conventicle :
 For disputants, like rams and bulls,
 Do fight with arms that spring from skulls. 440

¹ That is, a sharp knife, with which he cut leather.

² The shield of Ajax. See Description of it in Iliad, v. 423 (Pope).

³ According to the old distich :

The higher the plum-tree, the riper the plum ;
 The richer the cobbler, the blacker his thumb.

⁴ "Well-greaved Achæans:" the "greave" (*κνημίς*) was armour for the legs, which Butler ludicrously calls boots. In allusion, no doubt, to a curious "Dissertation upon Boots" (in the *Phoenix Britannicus*, p. 268,) written in express ridicule of Col. Hewson, and perhaps having in mind Alexander Ross, who says that Achilles was a shoemaker's boy in Greece, and had he not pawned his boots to Ulysses, would not have been pierced in the heel by Paris. In further illustration, the Shakspearian reader will remember Hotspur's punning reply to Owen Glendower's brag, "I sent thee bootless home," Henry IV. p. 1, Act iii. sc. 1.

⁵ The encouragement of preaching by persons of every degree amongst the laity was one of the principal charges brought against the dominant party under the Commonwealth, by their opponents.

Last Colon came, bold man of war,¹
 Destined to blows by fatal star ;
 Right expert in command of horse,
 But cruel, and without remorse.
 That which of Centaur long ago 445
 Was said, and has been wrested to
 Some other knights, was true of this :
 He and his horse were of a piece.
 One spirit did inform them both,
 The self-same vigour, fury, wrath ; 450
 Yet he was much the rougher part,
 And always had the harder heart,
 Altho' his horse had been of those
 That fed on man's flesh, as fame goes.²
 Strange food for horse ! and yet, alas ! 455
 It may be true, for flesh is grass.³
 Sturdy he was, and no less able
 Than Hercules to cleanse a stable ;⁴
 As great a drover, and as great
 A critic too, in hog or neat. 460
 He ripp'd the womb up of his mother,
 Dame Tellus,⁵ 'cause he wanted fother,
 And provender, wherewith to feed
 Himself and his less cruel steed.
 It was a question, whether he, 465
 Or's horse, were of a family
 More worshipful ; till antiquaries,
 After they'd almost pored out their eyes,

¹ Ned Perry, an ostler.

² The horses of Diomedes, king of Thrace, were said to have been fed with human flesh, and that he himself was ultimately eaten by them, his dead body having been thrown to them by Hercules. The moral, perhaps, may be, that Diomedes was ruined by keeping his horses, as Actæon was said to be devoured by his dogs, because he was ruined by keeping them.

³ A banter on the following passage in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*: "All flesh is grass, not only metaphorically, but literally: for all those creatures we behold are but the herbs of the field digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in ourselves," &c. See Works (Bohn's Edit. vol. ii. p. 317).

⁴ Alluding to the fabulous story of Hercules, who cleansed the stables of Augeas, king of Elis, by turning the river Alpheus through them.

⁵ This means no more than his ploughing the ground. A happy example of the magniloquence which belongs to mock epics.

Did very learnedly decide
 The business on the horse's side ; 470
 And proved not only horse, but cows,
 Nay pigs, were of the elder house :
 For beasts, when man was but a piece
 Of earth himself, did th' earth possess.

These worthies were the chief that led 475
 The combatants, each in the head
 Of his command, with arms and rage
 Ready and longing to engage.

The numerous rabble was drawn out
 Of several countries round about, 480
 From villages remote, and shires,
 Of east and western hemispheres.

From foreign parishes and regions,
 Of different manners, speech, religions,¹
 Came men and mastiffs ; some to fight 485
 For fame and honour, some for sight.

And now the field of death, the lists,
 Were enter'd by antagonists,
 And blood was ready to be broach'd,
 When Hudibras in haste approach'd, 490
 With Squire and weapons to attack 'em ;
 But first thus from his horse bespake 'em :

What rage, O Citizens !² what fury
 Doth you to these dire actions hurry ?

¹ In a thanksgiving sermon preached before Parliament, on the taking of Chester, Mr Case said that there were no less than 180 new sects then in London, who propagated the "damnable doctrines of devils." And Mr Ford, in an assize sermon, stated "that in the little town of Reading, he was verily persuaded, if St Augustin's and Epiphanius's Catalogues of Heresies were lost, and all other modern and ancient reords of the kind, yet it would be no hard matter to restore them, with considerable enlargements, from that place ; that they have Anabaptism, Familism, Socinianism, Pelagianism, Ranting, and what not? and that the devil was served in heterodox assemblies, as frequently as God in theirs. And that one of the most eminent church-livings in that country was possessed by a blasphemer, in whose house he believed some of them could testify that the devil was as visibly familiar as any one of the family."

² Butler certainly had the following lines of Lucan in view (Phars. 1—8):

"What rage, O citizens! has turned your swords
 Against yourselves, and Latian blood affords
 To envious foes?——"

What œstrum,¹ what phrenetic mood 495
 Makes you thus lavish of your blood,
 While the proud Vies your trophies boast,
 And unrevenged walks —— ghost ?²
 What towns, what garrisons might you,
 With hazard of this blood, subdue, 500
 Which now ye're bent to throw away
 In vain, untriumphable fray ?³
 Shall saints in civil bloodshed wallow
 Of saints, and let the Cause lie fallow ?⁴
 The Cause, for which we fought and swore 505
 So boldly, shall we now give o'er?
 Then because quarrels still are seen
 With oaths and swearings to begin,
 The Solemn League and Covenant
 Will seem a mere God-damme rant, 510
 And we that took it, and have fought,
 As lewd as drunkards that fall out.
 For as we make war for the king
 Against himself,⁵ the self-same thing

¹ *Æstrum* is not only a Greek word for madness, but signifies also a gad-bee or horse-fly, which torments cattle in summer, and makes them run about as if they were mad.

² Vies, or Devizes, in Wiltshire. The blank should be filled up with Waller. This passage alludes to the defeat of Sir William Waller, by Wilmot, near that place, July 13, 1643. After the battle, Sir William was entirely neglected by his party. Clarendon calls it the battle of Roundway-down, and some in joke call it Runaway-down.

³ The Romans never granted a triumph to the conqueror in a *civil* war.

⁴ Walker, in his *History of Independency*, observes that all the cheating, ambitious, covetous persons of the land were united together under the title of 'the Godly,' 'the Saints,' and shared the fat of the land between them. He calls them "Saints who were canonized in the Devil's Calendar." The support of the discipline, or ecclesiastical regimen by presbyters, was called *the Cause*.

⁵ "To secure the king's person from danger," says Lord Clarendon, "was an expression they were not ashamed always to use, when there was no danger that threatened, but what themselves contrived and designed against him." They not only declared that they fought for the king, but that the raising and maintaining of soldiers for their own army would be an acceptable service to the king, parliament, and kingdom. They insisted on a difference between the king's *political* and his *natural* person; and that his *political* must be, and was, with the Parliament, though his *natural person* was at war with them.

Some will not stick to swear we do 515
 For God and for religion too.
 For if bear-baiting we allow,
 What good can Reformation do?
 The blood and treasure that's laid out
 Is thrown away, and goes for nought. 520
 Are these the fruits o' th' Protestation,¹
 The prototype of Reformation,
 Which all the saints, and some, since martyrs,²
 Wore in their hats like wedding-garters,³
 When 'twas resolved by their house, 525
 Six members' quarrel to espouse?⁴
 Did they for this draw down the rabble,
 With zeal, and noises formidable;
 And make all cries about the town
 Join throats to cry the bishops down?⁵ 530
 Who having round begirt the palace,
 As once a month they do the gallows,⁶
 As members gave the sign about,
 Set up their throats, with hideous shout.
 When tinkers bawl'd aloud,⁷ to settle 535
 Church-discipline, for patching kettle.⁸

¹ The Protestation was drawn up, and taken in the House of Commons, May 3, 1641; and immediately printed, and dispersed over the nation, the people carrying it about on the points of their spears. It was the first attempt at a national combination against the establishment, and was har-binger of the Covenant.

² Those that were killed in the war.

³ The protesters, when they came tumultuously to the parliament-house, Dec. 27, 1641, to demand justice on the Earl of Strafford, stuck printed copies of the Protestation in their hats, in token of their zeal.

⁴ Charles I. ordered the following members, Lord Kimbolton, Pym, Hol-lis, Hampden, Haselrig, and Stroud, to be prosecuted, for plotting with the Scots, and stirring up sedition. The Commons voted against their arrest, upon which the king went to the house with his guards, to seize them; but they, having intelligence of his design, made their escape. This was one of the first acts of open violence which preceded the civil wars.

⁵ It is fresh in memory, says the author of *Lex Talionis*, how this city sent forth its spurious seum in multitudes to cry down bishops, root and branch, with lying pamphlets, &c.,—so far, that a dog with a black-and-white face was commonly called a bishop.

⁶ The executions at Tyburn were generally once a month.

⁷ All these Cries, so humorously substituted for the common street-cries of the times, represent the popular demands urged by the Puritans, before and under the Long Parliament.

⁸ For, that is, instead of.

No sow-gelder did blow his horn
 To geld a cat, but cried Reform.
 The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,
 And trudged away to cry No Bishop : 540
 The mouse-trap men laid save-all by,
 And 'gainst Ev'l Counsellors did cry.
 Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
 And fell to turn and patch the church
 Some cried the Covenant, instead 545
 Of pudding-pies and ginger-bread :
 And some for brooms, old boots, and shoes,
 Bawl'd out to purge the Commons' House :
 Instead of kitchen-stuff, some cry
 A Gospel-preaching ministry : 550
 And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
 No Surplices, nor Service-book.
 A strange harmonious inclination¹
 Of all degrees to Reformation :
 And is this all ? is this the end 555
 To which these carr'ings-on did tend ?
 Hath public faith, like a young heir,
 For this tak'n up all sorts of ware,
 And run int' every tradesman's book,
 Till both turn'd bankrupts, and are broke ? 560
 Did saints for this bring in their plate,²
 And crowd, as if they came too late ?
 For when they thought the Cause had need on't,
 Happy was he that could be rid on't.
 Did they coin piss-pots, bowls, and flagons, 565
 Int' officers of horse and dragoons ;
 And into pikes and musketeers
 Stamp beakers, cups, and porringers ?

¹ The Scots, in their large Declaration (163), begin their petition against the Common Prayer-book thus:—*We, men, women, children, and servants, having considered, &c.*

² Zealous persons, on both sides, lent their plate, to raise money for recruiting the army. Even poor women brought a spoon, a thimble, or a bodkin. The king, or some one for the parliament, gave notes of hand to repay with interest. Several colleges at Oxford have notes to this day, for their plate delivered to the king: and many other notes of the same nature are still in existence. Purchases were also made by both parties, on the "public faith," and large interest promised, but nothing ever paid.

A thimble, bodkin, and a spoon,
 Did start up living men, as soon 570
 As in the furnace they were thrown,
 Just like the dragon's teeth b'ing sown.¹
 Then was the Cause all gold and plate,
 The brethren's off'rings consecrate,
 Like th' Hebrew calf, and down before it 575
 The saints fell prostrate, to adore it.²
 So say the wicked—and will you
 Make that sarcasmous scandal true,
 By running after dogs and bears,
 Beasts more unclean than calves or steers? 580
 Have pow'rful Preachers ply'd their tongues,³
 And laid themselves out, and their lungs;
 Us'd all means, both direct and sinister,
 I' th' power of gospel-preaching minister?
 Have they invented tones, to win 585
 The women, and make them draw in
 The men, as Indians with a female
 Tame elephant inveigle the male?
 Have they told Prov'dence what it must do,⁴
 Whom to avoid, and whom to trust to? 590
 Discover'd th' enemy's design,
 And which way best to countermine?
 Prescrib'd what ways he hath to work,
 Or it will ne'er advance the Kirk?

¹ Alluding to the fable of Cadmus; Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iii. 106 (Bohn's Translation, page 85).

² Exod. xxxii.

³ Calamy, Case, and other Puritan preachers, exhorted their flocks, in the most moving terms and tones, to contribute their money towards the support of the parliament army, using such terms as "O happy money that will purchase religion," "All ye that have contributed to the Parliament, come and take this sacrament to your comfort."

⁴ Alluding to the profane familiarity which characterized the prayers of the most violent of the Presbyterian ministers and leaders. Grey says it was a common practice to inform God of the transactions of the times. And for those that were 'grown up in grace' it was thought comely enough to take a great chair at the end of the table, and sit with cocked hats on their heads, to say: "God, we thought it not amiss to call upon Thee this evening and let Thee know how affairs stand; we do somewhat long to hear from Thee, and if thou pleasest to give us such and such victories, we shall be good to Thee in something else when it lies in our way."

Told it the news o' th' last express,¹ 595
 And after good or bad success
 Made prayers, not so like petitions,
 As overtures and propositions,
 Such as the army did present
 To their creator, th' parliament; 600
 In which they freely will confess,
 They will not, cannot acquiesce,²
 Unless the work be carry'd on
 In the same way they have begun,
 By setting Church and Common-weal 605
 All on a flame, bright as their zeal,
 On which the saints were all agog,
 And all this for a bear and dog?
 The parliament drew up petitions³
 To 'tself, and sent them, like commissions, 610
 To well-affected persons, down
 In every city and great town,
 With pow'r to levy horse and men,
 Only to bring them back agen?
 For this did many, many a mile, 615
 Ride manfully in rank and file,

¹ The prayers of the Presbyterians, in those days, were very historical. Mr G. Swaithe, in his Prayers (pub. 1645), p. 12, says: "I hear the king hath set up his standard at York, against the parliament and the city of London. Look thou upon them; take their cause into thine own hand, appear thou in the cause of thy saints; the cause in hand."

"Tell them from the Holy Ghost," says Beech, "from the word of truth, that their destruction shall be terrible, it shall be timely, it shall be total."

"Give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever.—Who remembered us at Naseby, for his mercy endureth for ever.

Who remembered us in Pembrokeshire, for his mercy, &c.

Who remembered us at Leicester, for his mercy, &c.

Who remembered us at Taunton, for his mercy, &c.

Who remembered us at Bristol, for his mercy, &c."

² Alluding probably to their saucy expostulations with God from the pulpit, such as: "What dost thou mean, O Lord, to fling us into a ditch and there to leave us?" Again, "Put the Lord out of countenance; put him, as you would say, to the blush, unless we be masters of our requests."

³ It was customary for active members of parliament, having special objects in view, to draw up petitions "very modest and reasonable," and send them into the country to be signed, then substituting something more suitable to their purpose. The Hertfordshire petition, at the beginning of the war, took notice of things which had occurred in parliament only the night before its delivery, although it was signed by many thousands.

With papers in their hats, that show'd
 As if they to the pillory rode ?
 Have all these courses, these efforts,
 Been try'd by people of all sorts, 620
*Velis et remis, omnibus nervis,*¹
 And all t' advance the Cause's service,
 And shall all now be thrown away
 In petulant intestine fray ?
 Shall we, that in the Cov'nant swore, 625
 Each man of us to run before
 Another² still in Reformation,
 Give dogs and bears a dispensation ?
 How will dissenting brethren relish it ?
 What will Malignants³ say ? *videlicet,* 630
 That each man swore to do his best,
 To damn and perjure all the rest ;
 And bid the devil take the hin'most,
 Which at this race is like to win most.
 They'll say, our bus'ness to reform 635
 The Church and State is but a worm ;
 For to subscribe, unsight, unseen,⁴
 T' an unknown Church's discipline,
 What is it else, but, before-hand,
 T' engage, and after understand ? 640
 For when we swore to carry on
 The present Reformation,
 According to the purest mode
 Of Churches best reform'd abroad,⁵
 What did we else but make a vow 645
 To do, we knew not what, nor how ?

¹ That is, with all their might. See Bohn's *Dictionary of Latin Quotations*.

² This was a common phrase in those days, particularly with the zealous preachers, and is inserted in the Solemn League and Covenant.

³ The name given to the king's party by the parliament.

⁴ This refers to the haste with which the nation was made to "engage" in the Solemn League and Covenant, as the price of the assistance of the Scotch army on the parliament's side.

⁵ The Presbyterians pretended to desire such a reformation as had taken place in the neighbouring Churches; the king offered to invite any Churches to a National Synod, and could not even obtain an answer to the proposal.

For no three of us will agree
 Where or what Churches these should be;
 And is indeed the self-same case
 With theirs that swore *et cæteras*; ¹ 650
 Or the French league, in which men vow'd
 To fight to the last drop of blood.²
 These slanders will be thrown upon
 The cause and work we carry on,
 If we permit men to run headlong 655
 T' exorbitances fit for Bedlam,
 Rather than gospel-walking times,³
 When slightest sins are greatest crimes.
 But we the matter so shall handle,
 As to remove that odious scandal. 660
 In name of king and parliament,⁴
 I charge ye all, no more foment
 This feud, but keep the peace between
 Your brethren and your countrymen;
 And to those places straight repair 665
 Where your respective dwellings are:

A sly stroke of the poet's at his own party. By the convocation which sat in the beginning of 1640 all the clergy were required to take an oath in this form: "Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, *et cætera*." Dr Heylin, a member of the Convocation, endeavoured to make it appear that the *et cætera* was inserted by mistake. The absurdity of the oath is thus lashed by his brother satirist, Cleveland, p. 33:

"Who swears *et cætera*, swears more oaths at once
 Than Cerberus, out of his triple scence."

² The 'Holy League' entered into for the extirpation of Protestantism in France, 1576, was the original of the Scotch 'Solemn League and Covenant.' Nor did they differ much in their result. Both ended with the murder of two kings whom they had sworn to defend. This comparison has also been made, paragraph by paragraph, by Sir William Dugdale, in his 'Short View of the Troubles.'

³ A cant phrase of the time.

⁴ The Presbyterians made a distinction between the king's person politic, and his person natural: when they fought against the latter, it was in defence of the former, always inseparable from the parliament. The commission granted to the Earl of Essex was in the name of the king and parliament. But when the Independents got the upper hand, the name of the king was omitted, and the commission of Sir Thomas Fairfax ran only in the name of the parliament.

But to that purpose first surrender
 The fiddler, as the prime offender,¹
 Th' incendiary vile, that is chief
 Author, and engineer of mischief; 670
 That makes division between friends,
 For profane and malignant ends.
 He and that engine of vile noise,
 On which illegally he plays,
 Shall, *dictum factum*, both be brought 675
 To condign punishment, as th' ought.
 This must be done, and I would fain see
 Mortal so sturdy as to gainsay :
 For then I'll take another course,
 And soon reduce you all by force. 680
 This said, he clapt his hand on sword,
 To show he meant to keep his word.

But Talgol, who had long suppress
 Inflamed wrath in glowing breast,
 Which now began to rage and burn as 685
 Implacably as flame in furnace,
 Thus answer'd him : Thou vermin wretched,²
 As e'er in measled pork was hatched ;
 Thou tail of worship, that dost grow
 On rump of justice as of cow ; 690
 How dar'st thou with that sullen luggage
 O' th'self, old iron,³ and other baggage,
 With which thy steed of bones and leather
 Has broke his wind in halting hither ;

¹ Alluding to the fable of the trumpeter, who was put to death for setting people together by the ears without fighting himself. It is meant to ridicule the clamours made by parliament against supposed evil counselors ; by which Strafford, Laud, and others were sacrificed.

² The speech, though coarse, and becoming the mouth of a butcher (see Canto II. l. 295), is an excellent satire upon the justices of the peace in those days, who were often shoemakers, tailors, or common livery servants. Instead of making peace with their neighbours, they hunted impertinently for trifling offences, and severely punished them. "But it may be asked (says Grey) why Talgol was the first in answering the knight, when it seems more incumbent upon the bearward to make the defence? Probably Talgol might then be a Cavalier ; for the character the poet has given him does not infer the contrary, and his answer carries strong indications to justify the conjecture."

³ Meaning his sword and pistols.

How durst th', I say, adventure thus 695
 T' oppose thy lumber against us ?
 Could thine impertinence find out
 No work t' employ itself about,
 Where thou, secure from wooden blow,
 Thy busy vanity might show ? 700
 Was no dispute afoot between
 The caterwauling bretheren ?
 No subtle question rais'd among
 Those out-o'-their wits, and those i' th' wrong ?
 No prize between those combatants 705
 O' th' times, the land and water saints ;¹
 Where thou might'st stickle, without hazard
 Of outrage to thy hide and mazzard,²
 And not, for want of bus'ness, come
 To us to be thus troublesome, 710
 To interrupt our better sort
 Of disputants, and spoil our sport ?
 Was there no felony, no bawd,
 Cut-purse,³ nor burglary abroad ?
 No stolen pig, nor plunder'd goose, 715
 To tie thee up from breaking loose ?
 No ale unlicens'd, broken hedge,
 For which thou statute might'st allege,
 To keep thee busy from foul evil,
 And shame due to thee from the devil ? 720
 Did no committee sit,⁴ where he
 Might cut out journey-work for thee ;

¹ That is, the Presbyterians and Anabaptists.

² Face or head, see Wright's Provincial Dict., *sub voce*. Mazer is used for a head, seriously by Sylvester, and ludicrously in two old plays. From mazer comes mazzard, as from visor, vizard.

³ Men formerly hung their purses, by a silken or leathern strap, to their belts, outside their garments. Hence the term cut-purse.

⁴ In many counties certain persons appointed by the parliament to promote their interest, had power to raise money for their use, and to punish their opponents by fine and imprisonment: these persons were called a *Committee*. Walker, in his History of Independency, says that "to historiate at large the grievances of committees would require a volume as big as the Book of Martyrs, and that the people might as easily expect to find charity in hell, as justice in any committee."

And set th' a task, with subornation,
 To stitch up sale and sequestration ;
 To cheat, with holiness and zeal, 725
 All parties and the common-weal ?
 Much better had it been for thee,
 H' had kept thee where th' art us'd to be ;
 Or sent th' on business any whither,
 So he had never brought thee hither. 730
 But if th' hast brain enough in skull
 To keep itself in lodging whole,
 And not provoke the rage of stones,
 And cudgels, to thy hide and bones ;
 Tremble and vanish while thou may'st, 735
 Which I'll not promise if thou stay'st.

At this the Knight grew high in wroth,
 And lifting hands and eyes up both,
 Three times he smote on stomach stout,
 From whence, at length, these words broke out: 740

Was I for this entitled Sir,
 And girt with trusty sword and spur,
 For fame and honour to wage battle,
 Thus to be brav'd by foe to cattle ?
 Not all the pride that makes thee swell 745
 As big as thou dost blown-up veal ;
 Nor all thy tricks and sleights to cheat,
 And sell thy carrion for good meat ;
 Not all thy magic to repair
 Decay'd old age, in tough lean ware, 750
 Make nat'ral death appear thy work,
 And stop the gangrene in stale pork ;
 Not all the force that makes thee proud,
 Because by bullock ne'er withstood :
 Tho' arm'd with all thy cleavers, knives, 755
 And axes made to hew down lives,
 Shall save, or help thee to evade
 The hand of justice, or this blade,
 Which I, her sword-bearer, do carry,
 For civil deed and military. 760
 Nor shall these words of venom base,
 Which thou hast from their native place,

Thy stomach, pump'd to fling on me,
 Go unreveng'd, though I am free :¹
 Thou down the same throat shalt devour 'em 765
 Like tainted beef, and pay dear for 'em.
 Nor shall it e'er be said, that wight
 With gauntlet blue and bases white,²
 And round blunt dudgeon by his side,³
 So great a man at arms defy'd, 770
 With words far bitterer than wormwood,
 That would in Job or Grizel stir mood.⁴
 Dogs with their tongues their wounds do heal ;
 But men with hands, as thou shalt feel.
 This said, with hasty rage he snatch'd 775
 His gun-shot, that in holsters watch'd ;
 And bending cock, he levell'd full
 Against th' outside of Talgol's skull ;
 Vowing that he should ne'er stir further,
 Nor henceforth cow or bullock murther. 780
 But Pallas came in shape of rust,⁵
 And 'twixt the spring and hammer thrust
 Her gorgon-shield, which made the cock
 Stand stiff, as if 'twere turn'd t' a stock.
 Meanwhile fierce Talgol gath'ring might, 785
 With rugged truncheon charg'd the Knight ;
 But he with petronel⁶ upheav'd,
 Instead of shield, the blow receiv'd.⁷

¹ Free, that is, untouched by your accusations, as being free from what you charge me with. So *Shakspeare*, "We that have free souls," &c., *Haml.* III. 2.

² Meaning a butcher's blue sleeves and white apron. Gauntlets were gloves of plate-mail; bases were mantles which hung from the middle to about the knees or lower, worn by knights on horseback.

³ The steel on which a butcher whets his knife, called humorously a "dudgeon," or dagger. Some editions put *truncheon*.

⁴ The patience of Grisel is celebrated by Chaucer in the Clerke's Tale. The story is taken from Petrarch's "Epistola de historia Griselidis," and was the subject of a popular English Chap-book in 1619, often reprinted.

⁵ A banter upon Homer, Virgil, and other epic poets, who have always a deity at hand to protect their heroes. See also lines 864-5.

⁶ A horseman's pistol.

⁷ These lines were changed to the following in 1674, and restored in 1704.

And he his rusty pistol held,
 To take the blow on, like a shield.

The gun recoil'd, as well it might,
 Not us'd to such a kind of fight, 790
 And shrunk from its great master's gripe,
 Knock'd down, and stunn'd, with mortal stripe :
 Then Hudibras, with furious haste,
 Drew out his sword ; yet not so fast,
 But Talgol first, with hardy thwack, 795
 Twice bruis'd his head, and twice his back ;
 But when his nut-brown¹ sword was out,
 Courageously he laid about,
 Imprinting many a wound upon
 His mortal foe, the truncheon. 800
 The trusty cudgel did oppose
 Itself against dead-doing blows,
 To guard its leader from fell bane,
 And then reveng'd itself again :
 And though the sword, some understood, 805
 In force had much the odds of wood,
 'Twas nothing so ; both sides were balanc't
 So equal, none knew which was valian'st.
 For wood with honour b'ing engag'd,
 Is so implacably enrag'd, 810
 Though iron hew and mangle sore,
 Wood wounds and bruises honour more.
 And now both knights were out of breath,
 Tir'd in the hot pursuit of death ;
 Whilst all the rest, amaz'd, stood still, 815
 Expecting which should take,² or kill.
 This Hudibras observ'd, and fretting
 Conquest should be so long a-getting,
 He drew up all his force into
 One body, and that into one blow. 820
 But Talgol wisely avoided it
 By cunning sleight ; for had it hit
 The upper part of him, the blow
 Had slit, as sure as that below.

¹ "Rugged," in the first two editions ; changed perhaps because the term is just previously applied to a truncheon. The description of the combat is a ludicrous imitation of the conflicts recorded in the old romances.

² Take, that is, take prisoner, as in line 905.

Meanwhile th' incomparable Colon, 825
 To aid his friend, began to fall on ;
 Him Ralph encounter'd, and straight grew
 A dismal combat 'twixt them two :
 Th' one arm'd with metal, th' other wood ;
 This fit for bruise, and that for blood. 830
 With many a stiff thwack, many a bang,
 Hard crab-tree and old iron rang ;
 While none that saw them could divine
 To which side conquest would incline :
 Until Magnano, who did envy 835
 That two should with so many men vie,
 By subtle stratagem of brain
 Perform'd what force could ne'er attain ;
 For he, by foul hap, having found
 Where thistles grew on barren ground, 840
 In haste he drew his weapon out,
 And having cropp'd them from the root,
 He clapp'd them under th' horse's tail,¹
 With prickles sharper than a nail.
 The angry beast did straight resent 845
 The wrong done to his fundament,
 Began to kick, and fling, and wince,
 As if h' had been beside his sense,
 Striving to disengage from thistle,
 That gall'd him sorely under his tail ; 850
 Instead of which he threw the pack
 Of Squire and baggage from his back,
 And blund'ring still with smarting rump,
 He gave the Knight's steed such a thump
 As made him reel. The Knight did stoop, 855
 And sat on further side aslope.
 This Talgol viewing, who had now,
 By flight, escap'd the fatal blow,
 He rally'd, and again fell to 't ;
 For catching foe by nearer foot, 860
 He lifted with such might and strength,
 As would have hurl'd him thrice his length,

¹ The same trick was played upon Don Quixote's Rosinante and Sancho's dapple.

And dash'd his brains, if any, out :
 But Mars, who still protects the stout,
 In pudding-time came to his aid, 865
 And under him the bear convey'd ;
 The bear, upon whose soft fur-gown
 The Knight, with all his weight, fell down.
 The friendly rug preserv'd the ground,
 And headlong Knight, from bruise or wound, 870
 Like feather-bed betwixt a wall,¹
 And heavy brunt of cannon ball.
 As Sancho on a blanket fell,²
 And had no hurt ; ours far'd as well
 In body, though his mighty spirit, 875
 B'ing heavy, did not so well bear it.
 The bear was in a greater fright,
 Beat down and worsted by the Knight.
 He roar'd, and rag'd, and flung about,
 To shake off bondage from his snout. 880
 His wrath inflam'd boil'd o'er, and from
 His jaws of death he threw the foam ;
 Fury in stranger postures threw him,
 And more, than ever herald drew him.³
 He tore the earth, which he had sav'd 885
 From squelch of Knight, and storm'd and rav'd ;
 And vex'd the more, because the harms
 He felt were 'gainst the Law of arms ;
 For men he always took to be
 His friends, and dogs the enemy, 890
 Who never so much hurt had done him
 As his own side did falling on him.
 It griev'd him to the guts, that they,
 For whom h' had fought so many a fray,
 And serv'd with loss of blood so long, 895
 Should offer such inhuman wrong ;
 Wrong of unsoldier-like condition ;
 For which he flung down his commission,⁴

¹ Alluding to the protective measures recommended in old works on military fortification.

² Sancho's adventure at the inn, where he was toss'd in a blanket.

³ Alluding to the remarkable and unnatural positions in which animals are conventionally portrayed in coats of arms.

⁴ A ridicule on the petulant behaviour of the military men in the Civil

And laid about him, till his nose
 From thrall of ring and cord broke loose. 900
 Soon as he felt himself enlarg'd,
 Through thickest of his foes he charg'd,
 And made way through th' amazed crew,
 Some he o'erran, and some o'erthrew,
 But took none; for, by hasty flight, 905
 He strove t' avoid the conquering Knight,
 From whom he fled with as much haste
 And dread as he the rabble chased.
 In haste he fled, and so did they,
 Each and his fear¹ a several way. 910
 Crowdero only kept the field,
 Not stirring from the place he held,
 Though beaten down, and wounded sore,
 I' th' fiddle, and a leg that bore
 One side of him, not that of bone, 915
 But much its better, th' wooden one.
 He spying Hudibras lie strow'd
 Upon the ground, like log of wood,
 With fright of fall, supposed wound,
 And loss of urine, in a swound;² 920
 In haste he snatch'd the wooden limb,
 That hurt i' th' ankle lay by him,
 And fitting it for sudden fight,
 Straight drew it up t' attack the Knight;
 For getting up on stump and huckle,³ 925
 He with the foe began to buckle,
 Vowing to be reveng'd for breach
 Of crowd and shin upon the wretch,
 Sole author of all detriment
 He and his fiddle underwent. 930
 But Ralpho, who had now begun
 T' adventure resurrection⁴

Wars, it being common for those of either party, at a distressful juncture, to come to the king or parliament with some unreasonable demands; and if they were not complied with, to throw up their commissions, and go over to the opposite side: pretending, that they could not in honour serve any longer under such unsoldier-like indignities.

¹ That is, that which he feared.

² The twofold effect of the Knight's fear.

³ Put here for "knee;" the word means "hip."

⁴ A ridicule on the Sectaries who were fond of using Scripture phrases.

From heavy squelch, and had got up
 Upon his legs, with sprained crup,
 Looking about beheld the bard 935
 To charge the Knight entranc'd prepar'd,¹
 He snatch'd his whinyard up, that fled
 When he was falling off his steed,
 As rats do from a falling house,
 To hide itself from rage of blows; 940
 And wing'd with speed and fury, flew
 To rescue Knight from black and blue.
 Which ere he could achieve, his sconce
 The leg encounter'd twice and once;²
 And now 'twas rais'd, to smite agen, 945
 When Ralpho thrust himself between;
 He took the blow upon his arm,
 To shield the Knight from further harm;
 And joining wrath with force, bestow'd
 O' th' wooden member such a load, 950
 That down it fell, and with it bore
 Crowdero, whom it propp'd before.
 To him the Squire right nimbly run,
 And setting conqu'ring foot upon
 His trunk, thus spoke: What desp'rate frenzy 955
 Made thee, thou whelp of sin, to fancy
 Thyself, and all that coward rabble,
 T' encounter us in battle able?
 How durst th', I say, oppose thy curship
 'Gainst arms, authority, and worship, 960
 And Hudibras or me provoke,
 Though all thy limbs were heart of oak,
 And th' other half of thee as good
 To bear our³ blows as that of wood?
 Could not the whipping-post prevail, 965
 With all its rhet'ric, nor the jail,

¹ *Var.* Looking about, beheld pernicious
Approaching Knight from fell musician.

² A ridicule of the poetical way of expressing numbers. It occurs in Shakespeare. Thus Justice Silence, in Henry IV. Act v. "Who, I? I have been merry twice and once ere now." And the witch in Macbeth, Act v. "Twice and once the hedge pig whined."

³ "Out," is the usual reading; but the first edition has "our," which seems preferable.

To keep from flaying scourge thy skin,
 And ankle free from iron gin?
 Which now thou shalt—but first our care
 Must see how Hudibras doth fare. 970

This said, he gently rais'd the Knight,
 And set him on his bum upright:
 To rouse him from lethargic dump,¹
 He tweak'd his nose, with gentle thump²
 Knock'd on his breast, as if 't had been 975
 To raise the spirits lodg'd within.
 They, waken'd with the noise, did fly
 From inward room to window eye,
 And gently op'ning lid, the casement,
 Look'd out, but yet with some amazement. 980
 This gladdened Ralpho much to see,
 Who thus bespoke the Knight: quoth he,
 Tweaking his nose, You are, great Sir,
 A self-denying conqueror;³
 As high, victorious, and great, 985
 As e'er fought for the Churches yet,
 If you will give yourself but leave
 To make out what y' already have;
 That's victory. The foe, for dread
 Of your nine-worthiness,⁴ is fled, 990
 All, save Crowdero, for whose sake
 You did th' espous'd Cause undertake;
 And he lies pris'ner at your feet,
 To be dispos'd as you think meet,

¹ Compare this with the situation of Hector, who was stunned by a severe blow received from Ajax, and then comforted by Apollo.—Iliad xv. 240.

² Shakspeare represents Adonis attempting after this fashion to rouse Venus from her swoon—

“He wrings her nose, he strikes her on the cheek.”

See also Beaumont and Fletcher, “The Nice Valour,” Act iii.

³ Ridiculing the Self-denying Ordinance, by which the members of both Houses, who were in the army, pledged themselves to renounce either their civil or their military appointments. Grey thinks that Butler here meant to sneer at Sir Samuel Luke, who, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance, continued for 20 days to hold office as governor of Newport Pagnel.

⁴ Thrice worthy is a common appellation in romances. This is borrowed from the History of the “Nine Worthies.”

Either for life, or death, or sale,¹ 995
 The gallows, or perpetual jail;
 For one wink of your pow'rful eye
 Must sentence him to live or die.
 His fiddle is your proper purchase,²
 Won in the service of the Churches; 1000
 And by your doom must be allow'd
 To be, or be no more, a Crowd:
 For tho' success did not confer
 Just title on the conqueror;³
 Tho' dispensations were not strong 1005
 Conclusions, whether right or wrong;
 Altho' out-goings did not⁴ confirm,
 And owning were but a mere term;⁵
 Yet as the wicked have no right
 To th' creature,⁶ tho' usurp'd by might, 1010
 The property is in the saint,
 From whom th' injuriously detain't;
 Of him they hold their luxuries,
 Their dogs, their horses, whores, and dice,
 Their riots, revels, masks, delights, 1015
 Pimps, buffoons, fiddlers, parasites;
 All which the saints have title to,
 And ought t' enjoy, if th' had their due.
 What we take from them is no more
 Than what was ours by right before; 1020
 For we are their true landlords still,
 And they our tenants but at will.
 At this the Knight began to rouse,
 And by degrees grow valorous:
 He star'd about, and seeing none 1025
 Of all his foes remain but one,
 He snatch'd his weapon that lay near him,
 And from the ground began to rear him,

¹ The phrases bantered here, were popular amongst the Puritans.

² That is, acquisition by conquest; the original meaning of the word.

³ Success was pleaded by the Presbyterians as a proof of the justice of their cause. ⁴ So in the three first editions. But 1710 omits 'not.'

⁵ Dispensations, out-goings, carryings-on, nothingness, ownings, &c., were eant words of the time. For others see Canto I. ver. 109.

⁶ It was maintained by the Puritans of those days that all Dominion is

Vowing to make Crowdero pay
 For all the rest that ran away. 1030
 But Ralpho now, in colder blood,
 His fury mildly thus withstood :
 Great Sir, quoth he, your mighty spirit
 Is rais'd too high ; this slave does merit
 To be the hangman's bus'ness, sooner 1035
 Than from your hand to have the honour
 Of his destruction ; I that am
 A nothingness¹ in deed and name,
 Did scorn to hurt his forfeit carcase,
 Or ill entreat his fiddle or case : 1040
 Will you, great Sir, that glory blot
 In cold blood, which you gain'd in hot ?
 Will you employ your conqu'ring sword
 To break a fiddle, and your word ?
 For tho' I fought and overcame, 1045
 And quarter gave, 'twas in your name :²
 For great commanders always own
 What's prosp'rous by the soldier done.
 To save, where you have pow'r to kill,
 Argues your pow'r above your will ; 1050
 And that your will and pow'r have less
 Than both might have of selfishness.
 This pow'r which, now alive, with dread
 He trembles at, if he were dead,
 Would no more keep the slave in awe, 1055
 Than if you were a knight of straw ;
 For death would then be his conqueror,
 Not you, and free him from that terror.
 If danger from his life accrue,
 Or honour from his death to you, 1060
 'Twere policy, and honour too,
 To do as you resolv'd to do :

founded in grace, and therefore if a man wanted grace, and was not a saint-like or godly man, he had no right to any lands, goods, or chattels ; and that the Saints had a right to all, and might take it wherever they had power to do so.

¹ One of the cant terms of the times.

² Obviously a satire upon the parliament, who made no scruple at infringing articles of capitulation granted by their generals, if they found them too advantageous to the enemy.

But, Sir, 'twou'd wrong your valour much,
 To say it needs, or fears a crutch.
 Great conqu'rors greater glory gain 1065
 By foes in triumph led, than slain :
 The laurels that adorn their brows
 Are pull'd from living, not dead boughs,
 And living foes : the greatest fame
 Of cripple slain can be but lame : 1070
 One half of him's already slain,
 The other is not worth your pain ;
 Th' honour can but on one side light,
 As worship did, when y' were dubb'd Knight.
 Wherefore I think it better far 1075
 To keep him prisoner of war ;
 And let him fast in bonds abide,
 At court of justice to be try'd ;
 Where, if h' appear so bold or crafty,
 There may be danger in his safety :¹ 1080
 If any member there dislike
 His face, or to his beard have pike ;²
 Or if his death will save, or yield
 Revenge or fright, it is reveal'd ;³
 Tho' he has quarter, ne'ertheless 1085
 Y' have pow'r to hang him when you please.⁴
 This has been often done by some
 Of our great conqu'rors, you know whom ;

¹ The conduct of Cromwell in the case of Lord Capel will explain this line. After pronouncing high encomiums on him, and when every one expected he would vote to save his life, he took the opposite course, because of his firm loyalty! See *Clarendon*.

² That is, pique.

³ One of the most objectionable of all the cant religious phrases of the time, as it involved the pretence of supernatural instruction. In some cases, after the Rebels had taken a prisoner, upon the promise of quarter, they would say that it had since been revealed to such a one that he should die, whereupon they would hang him. Dr South observes of Harrison, the regicide, a butcher by profession and a preaching Colonel in the Parliament army, "That he was notable for having killed several after quarter given by others, using these words in doing it: 'Cursed be he who doeth the work of the Lord negligently.'"

⁴ The arbitrary proceedings of the Long Parliament and the Committees appointed by it, in respect of the lives and property of royalists, and of any who had enemies to call them royalists, are here referred to. A contemporary MS. note in our copy of the first edition states that this line refers to Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, who were executed "after quarter given them by General Fairfax."

And has by most of us been held
 Wise justice, and to some reveal'd : 1090
 For words and promises, that yoke
 The conqueror, are quickly broke ;
 Like Samson's cuffs, tho' by his own
 Directions and advice put on.
 For if we should fight for the Cause 1095
 By rules of military laws,
 And only do what they call just,
 The Cause would quickly fall to dust.
 This we among ourselves may speak ;
 But to the wicked or the weak 1100
 We must be cautious to declare
 Perfection-truths, such as these are.¹
 This said, the high outrageous mettle
 Of Knight began to cool and settle.
 He lik'd the Squire's advice, and soon 1105
 Resolv'd to see the bus'ness done ;
 And therefore charg'd him first to bind
 Crowdero's hands on rump behind,
 And to its former place, and use,
 The wooden member to reduce ; 1110
 But force it take an oath before,
 Ne'er to bear arms against him more.²
 Ralpho dispatch'd with speedy haste,
 And having ty'd Crowdero fast,
 He gave Sir Knight the end of cord, 1115
 To lead the captive of his sword
 In triumph, while the steeds he caught,
 And them to further service brought.
 The Squire, in state, rode on before,
 And on his nut-brown whinyard bore 1120
 The trophy-fiddle and the case,
 Leaning on shoulder³ like a mace.

¹ Truths revealed only to the perfect, or the initiated in the higher mysteries ; and here signifying esoteric doctrines in morals, such as were avowed by many of the Parliamentary leaders and advisers.

² The poet in making the wooden leg take an oath not to serve again against his captor, ridicules those who obliged their prisoners to take such oaths. The prisoners taken at Brentford were so sworn by the Royalists, but Dr Downing and Mr Marshall absolved them from this oath, and they immediately served again in the parliament army.

³ *Var.* Plac'd on his shoulder.

The Knight himself did after ride,
 Leading Crowdero by his side;
 And tow'd him, if he lagg'd behind, 1125
 Like boat against the tide and wind.
 Thus grave and solemn they march on,
 Until quite thro' the town they'd gone :
 At further end of which there stands
 An ancient castle, that commands ¹ 1130
 Th' adjacent parts; in all the fabrick
 You shall not see one stone nor a brick,
 But all of wood, by pow'rful spell
 Of magic made impregnable :
 There's neither iron bar nor gate, 1135
 Portecullis, chain, nor bolt, nor grate;
 And yet men durance there abide,
 In dungeon scarce three inches wide;
 With roof so low, that under it
 They never stand, but lie or sit; 1140
 And yet so foul, that whoso is in,
 Is to the middle-leg in prison;
 In circle magical confin'd,
 With walls of subtle air and wind,
 Which none are able to break thorough, 1145
 Until they're freed by head of borough.
 Thither arriv'd, the advent'rous Knight
 And bold Squire from their steeds alight
 At th' outward wall, near which there stands
 A Bastile, built t' imprison hands; ² 1150
 By strange enchantment made to fetter
 The lesser parts, and free the greater :
 For tho' the body may creep through,
 The hands in grate are fast enow :
 And when a circle 'bout the wrist 1155
 Is made by beadle exorcist,
 The body feels the spur and switch,
 As if't were ridden post by witch,

¹ The Stocks are here pictured as an enchanted castle, with infinite wit and humour, and in the true spirit of burlesque poetry.

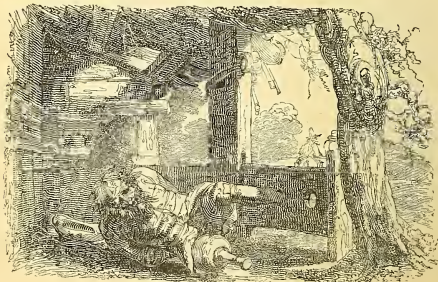
² A description of the whipping-post; and a satire upon the great State-prison at Paris, of which there were many tales abroad, strange to English ears even in Star-chamber times.

At twenty miles an hour pace,
 And yet ne'er stirs out of the place. 1160
 On top of this there is a spire,
 On which Sir Knight first bids the Squire
 The fiddle, and its spoils,¹ the case,
 In manner of a trophy, place.
 That done, they ope the trap-door gate, 1165
 And let Crowdero down thereat.
 Crowdero making doleful face,
 Like hermit poor in pensive place,²
 To dungeon they the wretch commit,
 And the survivor of his feet ; 1170
 But th' other, that had broke the peace,
 And head of knighthood, they release,
 Tho' a delinquent false and forged,
 Yet b'ing a stranger he's enlarged ;³
 While his comrade, that did no hurt, 1175
 Is clapp'd up fast in prison for't.
 So justice, while she winks at crimes,
 Stumbles on innocence sometimes.

¹ That is, its hide, skin, or covering ; as in "spoils of the chase."

² This is the first line of a love-song, in great vogue about the year 1650. It is given entire in Walton's *Angler* (Bohn's edit. p. 159).

³ This alludes to the case of Sir Bernard Gascoign, who was condemned at Colchester with Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, but respited from execution on account of his being a foreigner, and a person of some interest in his own country (Italy). See *Clarendon's Rebellion*.



PART I. CANTO III.




ARGUMENT.¹

The scatter'd rout return and rally,
Surround the place; the Knight does saliy,
And is made pris'ner: then they seize
Th' enchanted fort by storm, release
Crowdero, and put the Squire in's place:
I should have first said Hudibras.

¹ The Author follows the example of Spenser, and the Italian poets, in the division of his work into parts and cantos. Spenser contents himself with a quatrain at the head of each canto; Butler more fully informs his readers what they are to expect, by an argument in the same style with the poem; and shows that he knew how to enliven so dry a thing as a summary.

PART I. CANTO III.


 y me! what perils do environ
 The man that meddles with cold iron!¹
 What plaguy mischiefs and mishaps
 Do dog him still with afterclaps!
 For tho' dame Fortune seem to smile, 5
 And leer upon him for a while,
 She'll after show him, in the nick
 Of all his glories, a dog-trick.
 This any man may sing or say
 I' th' ditty call'd, What if a day? ² 10
 For Hudibras, who thought he'd won
 The field as certain as a gun,³
 And having routed the whole troop,
 With victory was cock-a-hoop;⁴

¹ A parody on Spenser's verses :

Ay me, how many perils do enfold
 The virtuous man to make him daily fall.

Fairy Queen : Book i. canto 8.

These two lines are become a kind of proverbial expression, partly owing to the moral reflection, and partly to the jingle of the double rhyme : they are applied sometimes to a man mortally wounded with a sword, and sometimes to a lady who pricks her finger with a needle. It was humorously applied by the Cambridge wits to Jeffreys, on the publication of Lord Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." Butler, in his MS. Common Place-book, on this passage, observes : "Cold iron in Greenland burns as grievously as hot." Some editions read "Ah me."

² An old ballad, which begins :

What if a day, or a month, or a year
 Crown thy delights,
 With a thousand wish't contentings!
 Cannot the chance of a night or an hour,
 Cross thy delights,
 With as many sad tormentings?

³ The first edition reads : Suer as a gun.

⁴ That is, crowing or rejoicing. Handbook of Proverbs, p. 154.

Thinking he'd done enough to purchase 15
 Thanksgiving-day among the churches,¹
 Wherein his metal and brave worth
 Might be explain'd by holder-forth,
 And register'd by fame eternal,
 In deathless pages of diurnal;² 20
 Found in few minutes, to his cost,
 He did but count without his host;³
 And that a turn-stile is more certain
 Than, in events of war, Dame Fortune.
 For now the late faint-hearted rout, 25
 O'erthrown and scatter'd round about,
 Chas'd by the horror of their fear,
 From bloody fray of Knight and Bear,
 All but the dogs, who, in pursuit
 Of the Knight's victory, stood to 't, 30
 And most ignobly sought⁴ to get
 The honour of his blood and sweat,⁵
 Seeing the coast was free and clear
 O' the conquer'd and the conqueror,
 Took heart of grace,⁶ and fac'd about, 35
 As if they meant to stand it out:
 For now the half defeated bear,⁷
 Attack'd by th' enemy i' th' rear,
 Finding their number grew too great
 For him to make a safe retreat, 40
 Like a bold chieftain fac'd about;
 But wisely doubting to hold out,
 Gave way to fortune, and with haste
 Fac'd the proud foe, and fled, and fac'd,

¹ The parliament was accustomed to order a day of public Thanksgiving, on occasion of every advantage gained over the Royalists, however trifling. And at these seasons the valour and worthiness of the leader, who had gained the victory, were lauded and enlarged upon.

² The gazettes or newspapers, on the side of the parliament, were published daily, and called Diurnals.

³ Handbook of Proverbs, p. 542.

⁴ *Var.* Fought.

⁵ An allusion to the complaint of the Presbyterian commanders against the Independents, when the Self-denying Ordinance had excluded them.

⁶ Altered in subsequent editions to "took heart again."

⁷ The first editions read: For by this time the routed bear.

Retiring still, until he found 45
 He'd got th' advantage of the ground ;
 And then as valiantly made head
 To check the foe, and forthwith fled,
 Leaving no art untry'd, nor trick
 Of warrior stout and politick ; 50
 Until, in spite of hot pursuit,
 He gain'd a pass, to hold dispute
 On better terms, and stop the course
 Of the proud foe. With all his force
 He bravely charg'd, and for a while 55
 Forc'd their whole body to recoil ;
 But still their numbers so increas'd,
 He found himself at length oppress'd,
 And all evasions so uncertain,
 To save himself for better fortune, 60
 That he resolv'd, rather than yield,
 To die with honour in the field,
 And sell his hide and carcase at
 A price as high and desperate
 As e'er he could. This resolution 65
 He forthwith put in execution,
 And bravely threw himself among
 Th' enemy i' th' greatest throng ;
 But what could single valour do
 Against so numerous a foe ? 70
 Yet much he did, indeed too much
 To be believ'd, where th' odds were such ;
 But one against a multitude
 Is more than mortal can make good :
 For while one party he oppos'd, 75
 His rear was suddenly enclos'd,
 And no room left him for retreat,
 Or fight against a foe so great.
 For now the mastiffs, charging home,
 To blows and handy-gripes were come ; 80
 While manfully himself he bore,
 And, setting his right foot before,
 He rais'd himself, to show how tall
 His person was, above them all.

This equal shame and envy stirr'd 85
 In th' enemy, that one should beard
 So many warriors, and so stout,
 As he had done, and stav'd it out,
 Disdaining to lay down his arms,
 And yield on honourable terms. 90
 Enraged thus, some in the rear
 Attack'd him, and some ev'rywhere,
 Till down he fell; yet falling fought,
 And, being down, still laid about;
 As Widdrington, in doleful dumps, 95
 Is said to fight upon his stumps.¹
 But all, alas! had been in vain,
 And he inevitably slain,
 If Trulla and Cerdon, in the nick,
 To rescue him had not been quick: 100
 For Trulla, who was light of foot,
 As shafts which long-field Parthians shoot;²
 But not so light as to be borne
 Upon the ears of standing corn,³
 Or trip it o'er the water quicker 105
 Than witches, when their staves they liquor,⁴
 As some report, was got among
 The foremost of the martial throng;
 Where, pitying the vanquish'd bear,
 She call'd to Cerdon, who stood near, 110
 Viewing the bloody fight; to whom,
 Shall we, quoth she, stand still hum-drum,
 And see stout Bruin, all alone,
 By numbers basely overthrown?

¹ So in the famous song of Chevy Chase:

For Witherington needs must I wail,
 As one in doleful dumps,
 For when his legs were smitten off
 He fought upon his stumps.

² *Long-field* is a term of archery, and a *long-fielder* is still a hero at a cricket match.

³ A satirical stroke at the character of Camilla, whose speed is hyperbolically described by Virgil, at the end of the seventh book of the *Æneid*.

⁴ Witches are said to ride upon broomsticks, and to liquor, or grease them, that they may go faster. See Lucan, vi. 572.

Such feats already he 'as achiev'd, 115
 In story not to be believ'd,
 And 'twould to us be shame enough,
 Not to attempt to fetch him off.
 I would, quoth he, venture a limb
 To second thee, and rescue him ; 120
 But then we must about it straight,
 Or else our aid will come too late ;
 Quarter he scorns, he is so stout,
 And therefore cannot long hold out.
 This said, they wav'd their weapons round 125
 About their heads, to clear the ground ;
 And joining forces, laid about
 So fiercely, that th' amazed rout
 Turn'd tail again, and straight begun,
 As if the devil drove, to run. 130
 Meanwhile th' approach'd th' place where Bruin
 Was now engag'd to mortal ruin :
 The conqu'ring foe they soon assail'd ;
 First Trulla stav'd, and Cerdon tail'd,¹
 Until the mastiffs loos'd their hold : 135
 And yet, alas ! do what they could,
 The worsted bear came off with store
 Of bloody wounds, but all before :²
 For as Achilles, dipt in pond,
 Was anabaptiz'd free from wound, 140
 Made proof against dead-doing steel
 All over, but the pagan heel ;³

¹ Trulla interposed her staff between the dogs and the bear, in order to part them ; and Cerdon drew the dogs away by their tails. Staving and tailing are technical terms used in the bear-garden, but are sometimes applied metaphorically to higher pursuits, as law, divinity, &c.

² That is, honourable wounds. The reader familiar with Shakspeare will remember Old Siward, in the last scene of Macbeth :

Siv. ———— Had he his hurts before ?

Ross. Aye, in the front.

Why then God's soldier is he !

Had I as many sons as I have hairs,

I would not wish them to a fairer death.

And so his knell is knoll'd.

³ The Anabaptists insisted upon the necessity of immersion in baptism ; so Butler uses the word "anabaptized" as equivalent to "dipt" : but as the vulnerable heel was not dipt, he calls it "pagan."

So did our champion's arms defend
 All of him but the other end,
 His head and ears, which in the martial 145
 Encounter lost a leathern parcel ;
 For as an Austrian archduke once
 Had one ear, which in ducatoons
 Is half the coin, in battle par'd
 Close to his head,¹ so Bruin far'd ; 150
 But tugg'd and pull'd on th' other side,
 Like scriv'ner newly crucify'd ;²
 Or like the late-corrected leathern
 Ears of the circumcised brethren.³
 But gentle Trulla into th' ring 155
 He wore in's nose convey'd a string,
 With which she march'd before, and led
 The warrior to a grassy bed,
 As authors write, in a cool shade,⁴
 Which eglantine and roses made ; 160
 Close by a softly murm'ring stream,
 Where lovers use to loll and dream :
 There leaving him to his repose,
 Secured from pursuit of foes,

¹ Albert, archduke of Austria, brother to the emperor Rodolph the Second, had one of his ears grazed by a spear, when he had taken off his helmet, and was endeavouring to rally his soldiers, in an engagement with Prince Maurice of Nassau, ann. 1598. A ducatoon is half a ducat.

² In those days lawyers or scriveners, guilty of dishonest practices, were sentenced to lose their ears.

³ Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, who were placed in the pillory, and had their ears cut off, by order of the Star-chamber, in 1637, for writing seditious libels. They were banished into remote parts of the kingdom ; but recalled by the parliament in 1640. At their return the populace received them with enthusiasm. They were met, near London, by ten thousand persons, carrying boughs and flowers ; and the members of the Star-chamber, concerned in punishing them, were fined £4000 for each.

⁴ The passage which commences with this line is an admirable satire on the romance writers of those days ; who imitated the well-known passages in Homer and Virgil, which represented the care taken by the deities of their favourites, after combats. "In this passage (says Ramsay) the burlesque is maintained with great skill, the imagery is descriptive, and the verse smooth ; showing that the author might, had he chosen, have produced something in a very different strain to 'Hudibras' ; though of less excellence. He perhaps knew the true bent of his genius, and probably felt a contempt for the easy smoothness and pretty feebleness of his contemporaries, of whom Waller and Denham were the two most striking examples."

And wanting nothing but a song,¹ 165
 And a well-tuned theorbo² hung
 Upon a bough, to ease the pain
 His tugg'd ears suffer'd, with a strain.³
 They both drew up, to march in quest
 Of his great leader, and the rest. 170
 For Orsin, who was more renown'd
 For stout maintaining of his ground
 In standing fights, than for pursuit,
 As being not so quick of foot,
 Was not long able to keep pace 175
 With others that pursu'd the chase,
 But found himself left far behind,
 Both out of heart and out of wind ;
 Griev'd to behold his bear pursu'd
 So basely by a multitude, 180
 And like to fall, not by the prowess,
 But numbers, of his coward foes.
 He rag'd, and kept as heavy a coil as
 Stout Hercules for loss of Hylas ;⁴
 Forcing the vallies to repeat 185
 The accents of his sad regret :
 He beat his breast, and tore his hair,
 For loss of his dear crony bear ;
 That Echo, from the hollow ground,⁵
 His doleful wailings did resound 190

¹ The ancients believed that Music had the power of curing hemorrhages, gout, sciatica, and all sorts of sprains, when once the patient found himself capable of listening to it. Thus Homer, *Odyssey*, book xix. line 534 of Pope.

² A large lute for playing a thorough bass, used by the Italians.

³ In Grey's edition it is thus pointed :

His tugg'd ears suffer'd ; with a strain
 They both drew up—

But the poet probably meant a well-tuned theorbo, to ease the pain with a strain, that is, with music and a song.

⁴ Hercules, when he bewails the loss of Hylas. See Val. Flac. *Argon.* iii. 593, and Theocritus, *Idyl.* xiii. 58.

⁵ A fine satire (says Grey) on that false kind of wit which makes an Echo talk sensibly, and give rational answers. Echoes were frequently introduced by the ancient poets (*Ovid. Metam.* iii. 379; *Anthol. Gr.* iii. 6, &c.), and had become a fashion in England from the Elizabethan era to the time when Butler wrote. Addison, see *Spectator* 59, reproves this, as he calls it, "silly

More wistfully, by many times,
 Than in small poets' splay-foot rhymes,¹
 That make her, in their ruthless stories,
 To answer to inter'gatories,
 And most unconscionably depose 195
 To things of which she nothing knows;
 And when she has said all she can say,
 'Tis wrested to the lover's fancy.
 Quoth he, O whither, wicked Bruin,
 Art thou fled to my—Echo, *ruin*. 200
 I thought th' hadst scorn'd to budge a step,
 For fear. Quoth Echo, *Marry quep*.²
 Am not I here to take thy part?
 Then what has quail'd thy stubborn heart?
 Have these bones rattled, and this head 205
 So often in thy quarrel bled?
 Nor did I ever wince or grudge it,
 For thy dear sake. Quoth she, *Mum budget*.³
 Thinkst thou 'twill not be laid i' th' dish⁴
 Thou turn'dst thy back? Quoth Echo, *Pish*. 210
 To run from those th' hadst overcome
 Thus cowardly? Quoth Echo, *Mum*.
 But what a-vengeance makes thee fly
 From me too, as thine enemy?

kind of deviee," and cites Erasmus's Dialogues, where an Echo is made to answer in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. But all the ancient Echoes are outdone by the Irish Echo, which in answer to "How do you do, Paddy Blake?" echoed, "Pretty well, thank you."

¹ Supposed to be a sneer at Sir Philip Sidney, who in his *Arcadia* has a long poem between the speaker and Echo.

² An exclamation or small oath, having no particular import, apparently the origin of our *Marry come up*. It is used by Taylor the Water Poet, Ben Jonson, and Gayton in his Translation of Don Quixote.

³ That is, "be silent," in allusion to what Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Master Slander: "I come to her in white, and cry *mum*; she cries *budget*; and by that we know oue another."—*Merry Wives*, Act v. sc. 2.

⁴ To lay in one's dish, to make an accusation against one, to lay a charge at one's door.

Last night you *lay it*, madam, *in our dish*,
 How that a maid of ours (whom we must cheek)
 Had broke your bitches leg.

Sir John Harrington, Epigr. i. 27.

Or, if thou hast no thought of me, 215
 Nor what I have endur'd for thee,
 Yet shame and honour might prevail
 To keep thee thus from turning tail:
 For who would grutch to spend his blood in
 His honour's cause? Quoth she, *a Puddin.* 220
 This said, his grief to anger turn'd,
 Which in his manly stomach burn'd;
 Thirst of revenge, and wrath, in place
 Of sorrow, now began to blaze.
 He vow'd the authors of his woe 225
 Should equal vengeance undergo;
 And with their bones and flesh pay dear
 For what he suffer'd and his bear.
 This b'ing resolv'd, with equal speed
 And rage, he hasted to proceed 230
 To action straight, and giving o'er
 To search for Bruin any more,
 He went in quest of Hudibras,
 To find him out, where'er he was;
 And if he were above ground, vow'd 235
 He'd ferret him, lurk where he wou'd.
 But scarce had he a furlong on
 This resolute adventure gone,
 When he encounter'd with that crew
 Whom Hudibras did late subdue. 240
 Honour, revenge, contempt, and shame,
 Did equally their breasts inflame.
 'Mong these the fierce Magnano was,
 And Talgol, true to Hudibras;
 Cerdon and Colon, warriors stout, 245
 And resolute, as ever fought;
 Whom furious Orsin thus bespoke:
 Shall we, quoth he, thus basely brook
 The vile affront that paltry ass,
 And feeble scoundrel, Hudibras, 250
 With that more paltry ragamuffin,
 Ralpho, with vapouring and huffing,
 Have put upon us, like tame cattle,
 As if th' had routed us in battle?

For my part, it shall ne'er be said 255
 I for the washing gave my head:¹
 Nor did I turn my back for fear
 O' th' rascals, but loss of my bear,²
 Which now I'm like to undergo;
 For whether these fell wounds, or no, 260
 He has received in fight, are mortal,
 Is more than all my skill can foretel;
 Nor do I know what is become
 Of him, more than the Pope of Rome,³
 But if I can but find them out 265
 That caused it, as I shall no doubt,
 Where'er th' in hugger-mugger lurk,⁴
 I'll make them rue their handiwork,
 And wish that they had rather dar'd
 To pull the devil by the beard.⁵ 270
 Quoth Cerdon, noble Orsin, th' hast
 Great reason to do as thou say'st,
 And so has ev'rybody here,
 As well as thou hast, or thy bear:
 Others may do as they see good; 275
 But if this twig be made of wood
 That will hold tack, I'll make the fur
 Fly 'bout the ears of the old cur,

¹ That is, behaved cowardly, or surrendered at discretion: jeering obliquely perhaps at the anabaptistical notions of Ralpho. Hooker, or Vowler, in his description of Exeter, written about 1584, speaking of the parson of St Thomas, who was hanged during the siege, says, "he was a stout man, who would not give his head for the polling, nor his beard for the washing." Grey gives the following quotation from Beaumont and Fleteher, *Cupid's Revenge*, Act iv. "*1st Citizen*. It holds, he dies this morning. *2nd Citizen*. Then happy man be his fortune. *1st Citizen*. And so am I and forty more good fellows, that will not give their heads for the washing."

² *Var.* Of them, but losing of my bear. In all editions between 1674 and 1704.

³ This common saying is a sneer at the Pope's infallibility.

⁴ The confusion or want of order occasioned by haste and secrecy.

— and we have done but greenly
 In *hugger-mugger* to inter him.

Hamlet, iv. 5. See also Wright's Glossary.

⁵ A proverbial expression used for any bold or daring enterprise: so we say, To take a lion by the beard. The Spaniards deemed it the most unpardonable of affronts to be pulled by the beard, and would resent it at the hazard of life.

And th' other mongrel vermin, Ralph,
 That brav'd us all in his behalf. 280
 Thy bear is safe, and out of peril,
 Tho' lugg'd indeed, and wounded very ill ;
 Myself and Trulla made a shift
 To help him out at a dead lift ;
 And having brought him bravely off, 285
 Have left him where he's safe enough :
 There let him rest ; for if we stay,
 The slaves may hap to get away.
 This said, they all engag'd to join
 Their forces in the same design, 290
 And forthwith put themselves, in search
 Of Hudibras, upon their march :
 Where leave we them awhile, to tell
 What the victorious Knight befell ;
 For such, Crowdero being fast 295
 In dungeon shut, we left him last.
 Triumphant laurels seem'd to grow
 Nowhere so green as on his brow ;
 Laden with which, as well as tir'd
 With conqu'ring toil, he now retir'd 300
 Unto a neighb'ring castle by,
 To rest his body, and apply
 Fit med'cines to each glorious bruise
 He got in fight, reds, blacks, and blues ;
 To mollify th' uneasy pang 305
 Of ev'ry honourable bang.
 Which b'ing by skilful midwife drest,
 He laid him down to take his rest.
 But all in vain : he 'ad got a hurt
 O' th' inside, of a deadlier sort, 310
 By Cupid made, who took his stand
 Upon a widow's jointure-land,¹

¹ The widow is presumed by Grey to be Mrs Tomson, who had a jointure of £200 a year. The courtship appears to be a fact dressed up by Butler's humour (although the editor of 1819 thinks it apocryphal) from Walker's History of Independency, i. p. 170. We learn that Sir Samuel Luke, to repair his decayed estate, sighed for the widow's jointure, but met with fatal obstacles in his suit, for she was a mere coquet, and, what was worse as regarded her suitor's principles, she was a royalist. Her inexorableness, says Mr Walker, was eventually the cause of the knight's death.

For he, in all his am'rous battles,
 No 'dvantage finds like goods and chattels,
 Drew home his bow, and aiming right, 315
 Let fly an arrow at the Knight;
 The shaft against a rib did glance,
 And gall him in the purtenance;¹
 But time had somewhat 'swaged his pain,
 After he had found his suit in vain: 320
 For that proud dame, for whom his soul
 Was burnt in 's belly like a coal,
 That belly that so oft did ake,
 And suffer griping for her sake,
 Till purging comfits and ant's eggs² 325
 Had almost brought him off his legs,—
 Us'd him so like a base rascallion,
 That old *Pyg*—what d' y' call him—*malion*,
 That cut his mistress out of stone,³
 Had not so hard a hearted one. 330
 She had a thousand jadish tricks,
 Worse than a mule that flings and kicks;
 'Mong which one cross-grain'd freak she had,
 As insolent as strange and mad;
 She could love none but only such 335
 As scorn'd and hated her as much.⁴
 'Twas a strange riddle of a lady;
 Not love, if any lov'd her? hey-day!⁵
 So cowards never use their might,
 But against such as will not fight. 340

¹ A ludicrous name for the knight's heart: taken from a calf's head and purtenance, as it is vulgarly called, instead of appurtenance (or pluck), which, among other entrails, contains the heart. The word is used in the same sense in the Bible. See Exodus xii. 9.

² Ants' eggs were formerly supposed, by some, to be antaphrodisiacs, or antidotes to love passions. See Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, b. vi. ch. 7.

³ *Pygmalion*, as the mythologists say, fell in love with a statue of his own carving; which Venus, to gratify him, turned into a living woman. See Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, lib. x. l. 247.

⁴ Such capricious kind of love is described by Horace: *Satires*, book i. ii. 105.

⁵ So in the edition of 1678, in others it is ha-day, but either may stand, as they both signify a mark of admiration. See *Skinner* and *Junius*.

So some diseases have been found
 Only to seize upon the sound.¹
 He that gets her by heart, must say her
 The back-way, like a witch's prayer.²
 Meanwhile the Knight had no small task 345
 To compass what he durst not ask :
 He loves, but dares not make the motion ;
 Her ignorance is his devotion :³
 Like caitiff vile, that for misdeed
 Rides with his face to rump of steed ;⁴ 350
 Or rowing scull, he 's fain to love,
 Look one way and another move ;
 Or like a tumbler that does play
 His game, and look another way,⁵
 Until he seize upon the coney ; 355
 Just so does he by matrimony.

¹ "It is common for horses, as well as men, to be afflicted with sciatica, or rheumatism, to a great degree, for weeks together, and when they once get clear of the fit, never perhaps hear any more of it while they live: for these distempers, with some others, called salutary distempers, seldom or never seize upon an unsound body." Bracken's *Farriery Improved*, ii. 46. The meaning then, from ver. 338, is this: As the widow loved none that were disposed to love her, so cowards fight with none that are disposed to fight with them: so some diseases seize upon none that are already distempered, but upon those only who, through the firmness of their constitution, seem least liable to such attacks.

² That is, the Lord's Prayer read backwards. The *Spectator*, No. 61, speaking of an epigram called the *Witch's Prayer*, says, it fell into verse whether read backwards or forwards, excepting only that it cursed one way and blessed the other." See *Spectator*, No. 110, 117, upon Witchcraft.

³ A banter on the Papists, who, denying to the laity the use of the Bible or Prayer-book in the vulgar tongue, are charged with asserting, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." The wit here is in making the widow's ignorance of his love the cause of the Knight's devotion.

⁴ Dr Grey supposes this may allude to five members of the army, who, on the 6th of March, 1648, were forced to ride in New Palace yard with their faces towards their horses' tails, had their swords broken over their heads, and were cashiered, for petitioning the Rump for relief of the oppressed commonwealth.

⁵ A dog, called by the Latins *Vertagus*, that rolls himself in a heap, and tumbles over, disguising his shape and motion, till he is near enough to his object to seize it by a sudden spring. The tumbler was generally used in hunting rabbits. See *Caius de Canibus Britannicis* (Kay, on *Englishe Dogges*, sm. 4to, *Lond.* 1576), and *Martial. lib. xiv. Epig.* 200.

But all in vain : her subtle snout
 Did quickly wind his meaning out ;
 Which she return'd with too much scorn,
 To be by man of honour borne ; 360
 Yet much he bore, until the distress
 He suffer'd from his spiteful mistress
 Did stir his stomach, and the pain
 He had endur'd from her disdain
 Turn'd to regret so resolute, 365
 That he resolv'd to wave his suit,
 And either to renounce her quite,
 Or for a while play least in sight.
 This resolution b'ing put on,
 He kept some months, and more had done, 370
 But being brought so nigh by fate,
 The vict'ry he achiev'd so late
 Did set his thoughts agog, and ope
 A door to discontinu'd hope,¹
 That seem'd to promise he might win 375
 His dame too, now his hand was in ;
 And that his valour, and the honour
 He 'ad newly gain'd, might work upon her :
 These reasons made his mouth to water,
 With am'rous longings to be at her. 380
 Thought he unto himself, who knows
 But this brave conquest o'er my foes
 May reach her heart, and make that stoop,
 As I but now have forc'd the troop ?
 If nothing can oppugne love,² 385
 And virtue invious³ ways can prove,
 What may not he confide to do
 That brings both love and virtue too ?
 But thou bring'st valour too, and wit,
 Two things that seldom fail to hit. 390
 Valour 's a mouse-trap, wit a gin,
 Which women oft are taken in :⁴

¹ One of the canting phrases used by the sectaries, when they entered on any new mischief.

² Read oppugné, as three syllables, to make the line of sufficient length.

³ That is, impassable. See Horacc, III. 2.

⁴ Assuming that women are often captivated by a red coat or a copy of verses.

Then, Hudibras, why should'st thou fear
 To be, that art a conqueror?
 Fortune the audacious doth *juvare*,¹ 395
 But lets the timidous² miscarry:
 Then, while the honour thou hast got
 Is spick and span new, piping hot,³
 Strike her up bravely thou hadst best,
 And trust thy fortune with the rest. 400

Such thoughts as these the Knight did keep
 More than his bangs, or fleas, from sleep;
 And as an owl, that in a barn
 Sees a mouse creeping in the corn,
 Sits still, and shuts his round blue eyes, 405
 As if he slept, until he spies
 The little beast within his reach,
 Then starts, and seizes on the wretch;
 So from his couch the Knight did start,
 To seize upon the widow's heart; 410
 Crying, with hasty tone and hoarse,
 Ralpho, dispatch, to horse, to horse!
 And 'twas but time; for now the rout,
 We left engag'd to seek him out,
 By speedy marches were advanc'd 415
 Up to the fort where he ensconc'd,
 And all the avenues possess
 About the place, from east to west.

That done, awhile they made a halt,
 To view the ground, and where t' assault: 420
 Then call'd a council, which was best,
 By siege, or onslaught, to invest
 The enemy; and 'twas agreed
 By storm and onslaught to proceed.
 This b'ing resolv'd, in comely sort 425
 They now drew up t' attack the fort;

¹ Alluding to the familiar quotation, *Fortes Fortuna adjuvat*, "Fortune favours the bold."

² *Timidous*, from *timidus*; the hero being in a latinizing humour.

³ Spick and span is derived by Dr Grey from *spike*, which signifies a nail of iron, as well as a nail in measure, and *span*, which is a measure of nine inches, or quarter of a yard. This applied to a new suit means that it has just been measured by the nail and span. Ray gives a different derivation; see Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, page 178.

When Hudibras, about to enter
 Upon another gates adventure,¹
 To Ralpho call'd aloud to arm,
 Not dreaming of approaching storm. 430
 Whether dame Fortune, or the care
 Of angel bac, or tutelar,
 Did arm, or thrust him on a danger,
 To which he was an utter stranger,
 That foresight might, or might not, blot 435
 The glory he had newly got ;
 Or to his shame it might be said,
 They took him napping in his bed :
 To them we leave it to expound,
 That deal in sciences profound. 440

His courser scarce he had bestrid,
 And Ralpho that on which he rid,
 When setting ope the postern gate,
 Which they thought best to sally at,²
 The foe appear'd, drawn up and drill'd, 445
 Ready to charge them in the field.
 This somewhat startled the bold Knight,
 Surpris'd with th' unexpected sight :
 The bruises of his bones and flesh
 He thought began to smart afresh ; 450
 Till recollecting wonted courage,
 His fear was soon converted to rage,
 And thus he spoke : The coward foe,
 Whom we but now gave quarter to,
 Look, yonder's rally'd, and appears 455
 As if they had outrun their fears ;
 The glory we did lately get,
 The Fates command us to repeat ;³

¹ That is, an adventure of another kind ; so Sanderson, p. 47, third sermon ad clerum. "If we be of the spirituality, there should be in us another gates manifestation of the spirit." The Americans, in conformity with a prevailing form, might read it "another guess."

² Variation in editions 1674 to 1704—

To take the field and sally at.

³ This is exactly in the style of victorious leaders. Thus Hannibal encouraged his men : "These are the same Romans whom you have beaten so often." And Octavius addressed his soldiers at Actium : "It is the same

And to their wills we must succumb,
Quocunque trahunt, 'tis our doom. 460
 This is the same numeric crew
 Which we so lately did subdue ;
 The self-same individuals that
 Did run, as mice do from a cat,
 When we courageously did wield 465
 Our martial weapons in the field,
 To tug for victory : and when
 We shall our shining blades agen
 Brandish in terror o'er our heads,
 They 'll straight resume their wonted dreads. 470
 Fear is an ague, that forsakes
 And haunts, by fits, those whom it takes ;¹
 And they'll opine they feel the pain
 And blows they felt to-day, again.
 Then let us boldly charge them home, 475
 And make no doubt to overcome.
 This said, his courage to inflame,
 He call'd upon his mistress' name ;²
 His pistol next he cock'd anew,
 And out his nut-brown whinyard drew ;³ 480
 And placing Ralphe in the front,
 Reserv'd himself to bear the brunt,
 As expert warriors use ; then ply'd,
 With iron heel, his courser's side,
 Conveying sympathetic speed 485
 From heel of Knight to heel of steed.
 . Meanwhile the foe, with equal rage
 And speed, advancing to engage,
 Both parties now were drawn so close,
 Almost to come to handy-blows : 490
 When Orsin first let fly a stone
 At Ralphe ; not so huge a one

Antony whom you once drove out of the field before Mutina : Be, as you have been, conquerors." And so, too, Napoleon on several occasions.

¹ *Var.* Haunts by turns; in the editions of 1663.

² A hit at the old Romances of Knight-errantry. In like manner Cervantes makes Don Quixote invoke his Dulcinea upon almost every occasion.

³ Whinyard signifies a sword ; it is chiefly used in contempt or banter. Johnson derives it from whin, furze ; so whinniard, the short scythe or instrument with which country people cut whins.

As that which Diomed did maul
 Æneas on the bum withal ;¹
 Yet big enough, if rightly hurl'd, 495
 T' have sent him to another world,
 Whether above ground, or below,
 Which saints, twice dipt, are destin'd to.²
 The danger startled the bold Squire,
 And made him some few steps retire ; 500
 But Hudibras advanc'd to's aid,
 And rous'd his spirits half dismay'd.
 He wisely doubting lest the shot
 O' th' enemy, now growing hot,
 Might at a distance gall, press'd close 505
 To come, pell-mell, to handy-blows,
 And that he might their aim decline,
 Advanc'd still in an oblique line ;
 But prudently forbore to fire,
 Till breast to breast he had got nigher ;³ 510
 As expert warriors use to do,
 When hand to hand they charge their foe.
 This order the advent'rous Knight,
 Most soldier-like, observ'd in fight,
 When Fortune, as she's wont, turn'd fickle, 515
 And for the foe began to stickle.
 The more shame for her Goodyship
 To give so near a friend the slip.
 For Colon, choosing out a stone,
 Levell'd so right, it thump'd upon 520
 His manly paunch, with such a force,
 As almost beat him off his horse,
 He loos'd his whinyard,⁴ and the rein,
 But laying fast hold on the mane,
 Preserv'd his seat : and, as a goose 525
 In death contracts his talons close,

¹ See Iliad v. 304. Virgil. Æn. I. 101. Juvenal. Sat. xv. 65.

² Meaning the Anabaptists, who thought they obtained a higher degree sanctification by being re-baptized.

³ Alluding to Cromwell's prudent conduct in this respect, who seldom suffered his soldiers to fire till they were near enough to the enemy to be sure of doing execution.

⁴ *Var.* He lost his whinyard.

So did the Knight, and with one claw
 The trigger of his pistol draw.
 The gun went off; and as it was
 Still fatal to stout Hudibras, 530
 In all his feats of arms, when least
 He dreamt of it, to prosper best;
 So now he far'd: the shot let fly,
 At random, 'mong the enemy,
 Pierced Talgol's gaberdine,¹ and grazing 535
 Upon his shoulder, in the passing
 Lodg'd in Magnano's brass habergeon,²
 Who straight, A surgeon! cried—a surgeon!
 He tumbled down, and, as he fell,
 Did murder! murder! murder! yell. 540
 This startled their whole body so,
 That if the Knight had not let go
 His arms, but been in warlike plight,
 H' had won, the second time, the fight;
 As, if the Squire had but fall'n on, 545
 He had inevitably done.
 But he, diverted with the care
 Of Hudibras his wound,³ forbare
 To press th' advantage of his fortune,
 While danger did the rest dishearten. 550
 For he with Cerdon b'ing engag'd
 In close encounter, they both wag'd
 The fight so well, 'twas hard to say
 Which side was like to get the day.
 And now the busy work of death 555
 Had tir'd them so, they 'greed to breathe,
 Preparing to renew the fight,
 When th' hard disaster of the knight,
 And th' other party, did divert
 Their fell intent, and forc'd them part.⁴ 560
 Ralpho press'd up to Hudibras,
 And Cerdon where Magnano was,

¹ A coarse robe or mantle; the term is used by Shylock in the Merchant of Venice, Act I. sc. 3.

² Habergeon, a diminutive of the French word hauberg, a little coat of mail. But here it signifies the tinker's budget.

³ *Var.* Hudibras, his *hurt*. ⁴ *Var.* And force their sullen rage to part.

Each striving to confirm his party
 With stout encouragements and hearty.
 Quoth Ralpho, Courage, valiant Sir, 565
 And let revenge and honour stir
 Your spirits up; once more fall on,
 The shatter'd foe begins to run:
 For if but half so well you knew
 To use your vict'ry as subdue,¹ 570
 They durst not, after such a blow
 As you have giv'n them, face us now;
 But from so formidable a soldier,
 Had fled like crows when they smell powder.²
 Thrice have they seen your sword aloft 575
 Wav'd o'er their heads, and fled as oft:
 But if you let them recollect
 Their spirits, now dismay'd and check'd,
 You'll have a harder game to play
 Than yet y' have had, to get the day. 580
 Thus spoke the stout Squire; but was heard
 By Hudibras with small regard.
 His thoughts were fuller of the bang
 He lately took, than Ralph's harangue;
 To which he answer'd, Cruel fate, 585
 Tells me thy counsel comes too late,
 The clotted blood³ within my hose,
 That from my wounded body flows,
 With mortal crisis doth portend
 My days to appropinque an end.⁴ 590
 I am for action now unfit,
 Either of fortitude or wit;
 Fortune, my foe, begins to frown,
 Resolv'd to pull my stomach down.

¹ This perhaps has some reference to Prince Rupert, who, at Marston Moor, and on some other occasions, was successful at his first onset by charging with great fury, but lost his advantage by too long a pursuit. See Eehard, vol. ii. p. 480.

² This belief still prevails in all rural districts. Plot, in his Natural History of Oxfordshire, says: "If the crows towards harvest-time are mischievous, the farmers dig holes near the eorn, and fill them with einders and gunpowder, stieking erow feathers about them, which they find successful." ³ *Var.* The knotted blood.

⁴ One of the knight's hard words, signifying to approach, or draw near.

I am not apt, upon a wound, 595
 Or trivial basting, to despond;
 Yet I'd be loath my days to curta'l;
 For if I thought my wounds not mortal,
 Or that we'd time enough as yet
 To make an honourable retreat, 600
 'Twere the best course; but if they find
 We fly, and leave our arms behind
 For them to seize on, the dishonour,
 And danger too, is such, I'll sooner
 Stand to it boldly, and take quarter, 605
 To let them see I am no starter.
 In all the trade of war no feat
 Is nobler than a brave retreat:
 For those that run away, and fly,
 Take place at least o' th' enemy.¹ 610

This said, the Squire, with active speed,
 Dismounted from his bony² steed
 To seize the arms, which by mischance
 Fell from the bold Knight in a trance.
 These being found out, and restor'd 615
 To Hudibras, their natural lord,
 As a man may say,³ with might and main,
 He hasted to get up again.⁴

¹ These two lines were not in the first editions of 1663, but added in 1674. This same notion is repeated in part iii. canto iii. 241—244. But the celebrated lines of similar import, commonly supposed to be in Hudibras,

"For he that fights and runs away
 May live to fight another day,"

are found in the *Musarum Deliciæ* (by Sir Jno. Mennis and James Smith) 12mo, Lond. 1656, and the type of them occurs in a much earlier collection, viz. *The Apophthegmes of Erasmus*, by Nico. Udall, 12mo, Lond. 1542, where they are thus given:

That same man that renneth awaie
 Maie again fight, an other daie.

² In some editions it is *bonny*, but I prefer *bony*, which is the reading of 1678.—*Nash*.

³ A sneer at the expletives then used in common conversation, such as: and he said, and she said, and so sir, d'ye see, &c. See *Spectator*, 371.

⁴ *Var.* The active Squire, with might and main,
 Prepar'd in haste to mount again.

Thrice he essay'd to mount aloft ;
 But by his weighty bum, as oft 620
 He was pull'd back : 'till having found
 Th' advantage of the rising ground,
 Thither he led his warlike steed,
 And having plac'd him right, with speed
 Prepar'd again to scale the beast, 625
 When Orsin, who had newly drest
 The bloody scar upon the shoulder
 Of Talgol, with Promethean powder,¹
 And now was searching for the shot
 That laid Magnano on the spot, 630
 Beheld the sturdy Squire aforesaid
 Preparing to climb up his horse-side ;
 He left his cure, and laying hold
 Upon his arms, with courage bold
 Cry'd out, 'Tis now no time to dally, 635
 The enemy begin to rally :
 Let us that are unhurt and whole
 Fall on, and happy man be's dole.²
 This said, like to a thunderbolt,
 He flew with fury to th' assault, 640
 Striving the enemy to attack
 Before he reach'd his horse's back.
 Ralpho was mounted now, and gotten
 O'erthwart his beast with active vau'ting,
 Wriggling his body to recover 645
 His seat, and cast his right leg over ;
 When Orsin, rushing in, bestow'd
 On horse and man so heavy a load,
 The beast was startled, and begun
 To kick and fling like mad, and run, 650
 Bearing the tough Squire, like a sack,
 Or stout king Richard, on his back ;³

¹ See canto ii. ver. 225.—Prometheus boasts especially of communicating to mankind the knowledge of medicines. Æschyli Prometh. Vinct. v. 491.

² A common saying, repeatedly occurring in Shakspeare and the old poets, equivalent to,—“May it be his lot (dole) to be a happy man !”

³ After the battle of Bosworth Field, where Richard III. fell, his body was stripped, and, in an ignominious manner, laid across a horse's back like a slaughtered deer ; his head and arms hanging on one side, and his legs on the other, besmeared with blood and dirt.

'Till stumbling, he threw him down,¹
 Sore bruis'd, and cast into a swoon.
 Meanwhile the Knight began to rouse 655
 The sparkles of his wonted prowess ;
 He thrust his hand into his hose,
 And found, both by his eyes and nose,
 'Twas only choler,² and not blood,
 That from his wounded body flow'd. 660
 This, with the hazard of the Squire,
 Inflam'd him with despightful ire ;
 Courageously he fac'd about,
 And drew his other pistol out,
 And now had half-way bent the cock, 665
 When Cerdon gave so fierce a shock,
 With sturdy truncheon, 'thwart his arm,
 That down it fell, and did no harm :
 Then stoutly pressing on with speed,
 Essay'd to pull him off his steed. 670
 The Knight his sword had only left,
 With which he Cerdon's head had cleft,
 Or at the least cropt off a limb,
 But Orsin came and rescu'd him.
 He with his lance attack'd the Knight 675
 Upon his quarters opposite.
 But as a bark, that in foul weather,
 Toss'd by two adverse winds together,
 Is bruis'd and beaten to and fro,
 And knows not which to turn him to : 680
 So far'd the Knight between two foes,
 And knew not which of them t' oppose ;
 'Till Orsin charging with his lance
 At Hudibras, by spightful chance
 Hit Cerdon such a bang, as stunn'd 685
 And laid him flat upon the ground.
 At this the Knight began to cheer up,
 And raising up himself on stirrup,
 Cry'd out, Victoria! lie thou there,
 And I shall straight dispatch another, 690

¹ We must here read stumble-ing, to make three syllables.

² The delicate reader will easily guess what is here intended by the word choler.

To bear thee company in death :
 But first I'll halt awhile, and breathe.
 As well he might : for Orsin griev'd
 At th' wound that Cerdon had receiv'd,
 Ran to relieve him with his lore, 625
 And cure the hurt he made before.
 Meanwhile the Knight had wheel'd about,
 To breathe himself, and next find out
 Th' advantage of the ground, where best
 He might the ruffled foe infest. 700
 This b'ing resolv'd, he spurr'd his steed,
 To run at Orsin with full speed,
 While he was busy in the care
 Of Cerdon's wound, and unaware :
 But he was quick, and had already 705
 Unto the part apply'd remedy ;
 And seeing th' enemy prepar'd,
 Drew up, and stood upon his guard :
 Then, like a warrior, right expert
 And skilful in the martial art, 710
 The subtle Knight straight made a halt,
 And judg'd it best to stay th' assault,
 Until he had reliev'd the Squire,
 And then, in order, to retire ;
 Or, as occasion should invite, 715
 With forces join'd renew the fight.
 Ralpho, by this time disentranc'd,
 Upon his bum himself advanc'd,
 Though sorely bruis'd ; his limbs all o'er,
 With ruthless bangs were stiff and sore ; 720
 Right fain he would have got upon
 His feet again, to get him gone ;
 When Hudibras to aid him came.
 Quoth he, and call'd him by his name,¹
 Courage, the day at length is ours, 725
 And we once more as conquerors,
 Have both the field and honour won,
 The foe is profligate,² and run ;

¹ A parody on a phrase continually recurring in Homer.

² That is, routed : from the Latin, *profligo*, to put to flight.

I mean all such as can, for some
 This hand hath sent to their long home ; 730
 And some lie sprawling on the ground,
 With many a gash and bloody wound.
 Cæsar himself could never say,
 He got two vict'ries in a day,
 As I have done, that can say, twice I, 735
 In one day, *Veni, vidi, vici.*¹
 The foe's so numerous, that we
 Cannot so often *vincere*,²
 And they *perire*, and yet enow
 Be left to strike an after-blow. 740
 Then, lest they rally, and once more
 Put us to fight the bus'ness o'er,
 Get up, and mount thy steed ; dispatch,
 And let us both their motions watch.
 Quoth Ralph, I should not, if I were 745
 In case for action, now be here ;
 Nor have I turn'd my back, or hang'd
 An arse, for fear of being bang'd.
 It was for you I got these harms,
 Advent'ring to fetch off your arms. 750
 The blows and drubs I have receiv'd
 Have bruis'd my body, and bereav'd
 My limbs of strength : unless you stoop,
 And reach your hand to pull me up,
 I shall lie here, and be a prey 755
 To those who now are run away.
 That thou shalt not, quoth Hudibras :
 We read, the ancients held it was
 More honourable far *servare*
Civem, than slay an adversary ; 760
 The one we oft to-day have done,
 The other shall dispatch anon :

¹ I came, I saw, I overcame: the words in which Cæsar announced to the Senate his victory over Pharnaces. In his consequent triumph at Rome they were inscribed on a tablet, and carried before him.

² A great general, being informed that his enemies were very numerous, replied, then there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away.

And tho' th' art of a diff'rent church,
 I will not leave thee in the lurch.¹
 This said, he jogg'd his good steed nigher, 765
 And steer'd him gently toward the Squire;
 Then bowing down his body, stretch'd
 His hand out, and at Ralpho reach'd;
 When Trulla, whom he did not mind,
 Charg'd him like lightning behind. 770
 She had been long in search about
 Magnano's wound, to find it out;
 But could find none, nor where the shot
 That had so startled him was got:
 But having found the worst was past 775
 She fell to her own work at last,
 The pillage of the prisoners,
 Which in all feats of arms was hers:
 And now to plunder Ralph she flew,
 When Hudibras his hard fate drew 780
 To succour him; for, as he bow'd
 To help him up, she laid a load
 Of blows so heavy, and plac'd so well,
 On th' other side, that down he fell.
 Yield, scoundrel, base, quoth she, or die, 785
 Thy life is mine, and liberty:
 But if thou think'st I took thee tardy,
 And dar'st presume to be so hardy,
 To try thy fortune o'er afresh,
 I'll wave my title to thy flesh, 790
 Thy arms and baggage, now my right:²
 And if thou hast the heart to try't,
 I'll lend thee back thyself awhile,
 And once more, for that carcase vile,
 Fight upon tick.—Quoth Hudibras, 795
 Thou offer'st nobly, valiant lass,
 And I shall take thee at thy word.
 First let me rise, and take my sword;

¹ This is a sneer at the Independents, who, when they got possession of the government, deserted their old allies, the Presbyterians, and treated them with great hauteur.

² The application of the "law of arms," as expounded in the old romances, to this case, is exquisitely ludicrous.

That sword, which has so oft this day
 Through squadrons of my foes made way, 800
 And some to other worlds dispatch'd,
 Now with a feeble spinster match'd,
 Will blush with blood ignoble stain'd,
 By which no honour's to be gain'd.
 But if thou'lt take m' advice in this, 805
 Consider, while thou may'st, what 'tis
 To interrupt a victor's course,
 B' opposing such a trivial force.
 For if with conquest I come off,
 And that I shall do sure enough, 810
 Quarter thou canst not have, nor grace,¹
 By law of arms, in such a case ;
 Both which I now do offer freely.

I scorn, quoth she, thou coxcomb silly,
 Clapping her hand upon her breech, 815
 To show how much she priz'd his speech,
 Quarter or counsel from a foe :
 If thou canst force me to it, do.
 But lest it should again be said,
 When I have once more won thy head, 820
 I took thee napping, unprepar'd,
 Arm, and betake thee to thy guard.

This said, she to her tackle fell,
 And on the Knight let fall a peal
 Of blows so fierce, and prest so home, 825
 That he retir'd, and follow'd 's bum.
 Stand to't, quoth she, or yield to mercy,
 It is not fighting arsie-versie²

¹ L'Estrange records a parallel to this at the siege of Pontefract. An officer having had his horse shot under him, saw two or three common soldiers with their muskets over him as he lay on the ground, ready to beat out his brains; the officer, with great presence of mind, told them to strike at their peril, for if they did, he swore a great oath he would not give quarter to a man of them. This so surprised them that they hesitated for an instant, during which the officer got up and made his escape.

² That is, wrong end uppermost, or b——e foremost. So Ray, quoting Ben Jonson, has :—

Passion of me, was ever man thus cross'd?
 All things run arsi-vearsi, upside down.

See Handbook of Proverbs, p. 148.

Shall serve thy turn.—This stir'd his spleen
 More than the danger he was in, 830
 The blows he felt, or was to feel,
 Although th' already made him reel.
 Honour, despight, revenge, and shame,
 At once into his stomach came ;
 Which fir'd it so, he rais'd his arm 835
 Above his head, and rain'd a storm
 Of blows so terrible and thick,
 As if he meant to hash her quick.
 But she upon her truncheon took them,
 And by oblique diversion broke them ; 840
 Waiting an opportunity
 To pay all back with usury,
 Which long she fail'd not of ; for now
 The Knight, with one dead-doing blow,
 Resolving to decide the fight, 845
 And she with quick and cunning slight
 Avoiding it, the force and weight
 He charg'd upon it was so great,
 As almost sway'd him to the ground :
 No sooner she th' advantage found, 850
 But in she flew ; and seconding,
 With home-made thrust, the heavy swing,
 She laid him flat upon his side,
 And mounting on his trunk astride,
 Quoth she, I told thee what would come 855
 Of all thy vapouring, base scum.
 Say, will the law of arms allow ¹
 I may have grace, and quarter now ?
 Or wilt thou rather break thy word,
 And stain thine honour, than thy sword ? 860
 A man of war to damn his soul,
 In basely breaking his parole.

¹ Instead of this and the nine following lines (857 to 866), these four stood in the two first editions of 1663.

Shall I have quarter now, you ruffin ?
 Or wilt thou be worse than thy huffing ?
 Thou said'st th' wouldst kill me, marry wouldst thou :
 Why dost thou not, thou Jack-a-nods thou ?

And when before the fight, th' hadst vow'd
 To give no quarter in cold blood ;
 Now thou hast got me for a Tartar,¹ 865
 To make m' against my will take quarter ;
 Why dost not put me to the sword,
 But cowardly fly from thy word ?
 Quoth Hudibras, The day 's thine own ;
 Thou and thy stars have cast me down : 870
 My laurels are transplanted now,
 And flourish on thy conqu'ring brow :
 My loss of honour 's great enough,
 Thou need'st not brand it with a scoff :
 Sarcasms may eclipse thine own, 875
 But cannot blur my lost renown :
 I am not now in fortune's power,
 He that is down can fall no lower.²
 The ancient heroes were illustr'ous
 For being benign, and not blust'rous 880
 Against a vanquish'd foe : their swords
 Where sharp and trenchant, not their words ;
 And did in fight but cut work out
 T' employ their courtesies about.³
 Quoth she, Altho' thou hast deserv'd, 885
 Base Slubberdegullion,⁴ to be serv'd
 As thou didst vow to deal with me,
 If thou hadst got the victory ;
 Yet I should rather act a part
 That suits my fame, than thy desert. 890

¹ The Tartars (says Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes*, p. 478) would rather die than yield, which makes them fight with desperate energy ; whence the proverb, Thou hast caught a Tartar.—A man catches a Tartar when he falls into his own trap, or having a design upon another, is caught himself. "Help, help, cries one, I have caught a Tartar. Bring him along, answers his comrade. He will not come, says he. Then come without him, quoth the other. But he will not let me, says the Tartar-catcher."

² A literal translation of the proverb : *Qui jacet in terrâ non habet unde cadat.*

³ See Cleveland, in his letter to the Protector. "The most renowned heroes have ever with such tenderness cherished their captives, that their swords did but cut out work for their courtesies."

⁴ That is, a drivelling fool : to slubber, in British, is to drivel ; and gul, or its diminutive gullion, a fool, or person easily imposed upon. The word is used by Taylor the Water Poet, in his "Laugh and grow fat."

Thy arms, thy liberty, beside
 All that's on th' outside of thy hide,
 Are mine by military law,¹
 Of which I will not bate one straw ;
 The rest, thy life and limbs, once more, 895
 Though doubly forfeit, I restore.

Quoth Hudibras, It is too late
 For me to treat or stipulate ;
 What thou command'st I must obey ;
 Yet those whom I expugn'd to-day, 900
 Of thine own party, I let go,
 And gave them life and freedom too,
 Both dogs and bear, upon their parol,
 Whom I took pris'ners in this quarrel.

Quoth Trulla, Whether thou or they 905
 Let one another run away,
 Concerns not me ; but was't not thou
 That gave Crowdero quarter too ?
 Crowdero, whom in irons bound,
 Thou'basely threw'st into Lob's pound,² 910
 Where still he lies, and with regret
 His generous bowels rage and fret :
 But now thy carcase shall redeem,
 And serve to be exchang'd for him.

This said, the Knight did straight submit, 915
 And laid his weapons at her feet :
 Next he disrob'd his gaberdine,
 And with it did himself resign.
 She took it, and forthwith divesting
 The mantle that she wore, said, jesting, 920
 Take that, and wear it for my sake ;
 Then threw it o'er his sturdy back :

¹ In public duels all horses, pieces of broken armour, or other furniture that fell to the ground, after the combatants entered the lists, were the fees of the marshal ; but the rest became the property of the victor.

² A cant term for a jail or the stocks, used by the old Dramatists. See Massinger's Duke of Milan, III. 2.—Dr Grey mentions a story of Mr Lob, a preacher among the dissenters, who, when their meetings were prohibited, contrived a trap-door in his pulpit, which led through many dark windings into a cellar. His adversaries once pursued him into these recesses, and, groping about in perplexity, one of them said that they had got into Lob's pound.

And as the French, we conquer'd once,
 Now give us laws for pantaloons,
 The length of breeches, and the gathers, 925
 Port-cannons, perriwigs, and feathers,¹
 Just so the proud, insulting lass
 Array'd and dighted Hudibras.²

Meanwhile the other champions, yerst³
 In hurry of the fight disperst, 930
 Arriv'd, when Trulla 'd won the day,
 To share in th' honour and the prey,
 And out of Hudibras his hide,
 With vengeance to be satisfy'd ;
 Which now they were about to pour 935
 Upon him in a wooden show'r :
 But Trulla thrust herself between,
 And striding o'er his back agen,
 She brandish'd o'er her head his sword
 And vow'd they should not break her word ; 940
 Sh' had given him quarter, and her blood,
 Or theirs, should make that quarter good.
 For she was bound, by law of arms,
 To see him safe from further harms.
 In dungeon deep Crowdero cast 945
 By Hudibras, as yet lay fast,
 Where to the hard and ruthless stones,
 His great heart made perpetual moans ;

¹ We seem at no time to have been averse to the French fashions, but they were quite the rage after the Restoration. Pantaloons were then a kind of loose breeches, commonly made of silk, and puffed, which covered the legs, thighs, and part of the body. They are represented in some of Vandyke's pictures. Port-cannons were streamers of ribands which hung from the knees of the short breeches ; they had grown to such excess in France, that Molière was thought to have done good service by laughing them out of fashion. Perriwigs were brought from France in the reign of Elizabeth, but were not much used till after the Restoration. At first they were of various colours, to suit the complexion, and of immense size in large flowing curls, as we see on monuments in Westminster Abbey and in old portraits. Lord Bolingbroke is said to be the first who tied them up in knots ; which was esteemed so great an undress, that when his lordship first went to court in a wig of this fashion Queen Anne was offended, and said to those about her, "This man will come to me next court-day in his night-cap."

² Dighted, from the Anglo-Saxon *dihstan*, to dress, fit out.

³ Yerst, or erst, means first.

Him she resolved that Hudibras
 Should ransom, and supply his place. 960
 This stopp'd their fury, and the basting
 Which toward Hudibras was hasting.
 They thought it was but just and right,
 That what she had achiev'd in fight,
 She should dispose of how she pleas'd ; 955
 Crowdero ought to be releas'd :
 Nor could that any way be done
 So well, as this she pitch'd upon :
 For who a better could imagine ?
 This therefore they resolv'd t' engage in. 960
 The Knight and Squire first they made
 Rise from the ground where they were laid,
 Then mounted both upon their horses,
 But with their faces to the arses.
 Orsin led Hudibras's beast, 965
 And Talgol that which Ralpho prest ;
 Whom stout Magnano, valiant Cerdon,
 And Colon, waited as a guard on ;
 All ush'ring Trulla, in the rear,
 With th' arms of either prisoner. 970
 In this proud order and array,
 They put themselves upon their way,
 Striving to reach th' enchanted Castle,
 Where stout Crowdero in durance lay still.
 Thither with greater speed than shows, 975
 And triumph over conquer'd foes,
 Do use t' allow ; or than the bears,
 Or pageants borne before lord-mayors,¹
 Are wont to use, they soon arriv'd,
 In order, soldier-like contriv'd : 980
 Still marching in a warlike posture,
 As fit for battle as for muster.
 The Knight and Squire they first unhorse,
 And, bending 'gainst the fort their force,
 They all advanc'd, and round about 985
 Begirt the magical redoubt.

¹ I believe at the lord-mayor's show bears were led in procession, and afterwards baited for the diversion of the populace.—*Nash*.

Magnan' led up in this adventure,
 And made way for the rest to enter :
 For he was skilful in black art,¹
 No less than he that built the fort, 990
 And with an iron mace laid flat
 A breach, which straight all enter'd at,
 And in the wooden dungeon found
 Crowdero laid upon the ground :
 Him they release from durance base, 995
 Restored t' his fiddle and his case,
 And liberty, his thirsty rage
 With luscious veng'ance to assuage ;
 For he no sooner was at large,
 But Trulla straight brought on the charge, 1000
 And in the self-same limbo put
 The Knight and Squire, where he was shut ;
 Where leaving them i' th' wretched hole,²
 Their bangs and durance to condole,
 Confin'd and conjur'd into narrow 1005
 Enchanted mansion, to know sorrow,
 In the same order and array
 Which they advanc'd, they march'd away :
 But Hudibras, who scorn'd to stoop
 To fortune, or be said to droop, 1010
 Cheer'd up himself with ends of verse,
 And sayings of philosophers.
 Quoth he, Th' one half of man, his mind,
 Is, *sui juris*, unconfined,³
 And cannot be laid by the heels, 1015
 Whate'er the other moiety feels.

¹ Meaning the tinker Magnano. See Canto ii. l. 336.

² In the edition of 1704 it is printed *in Hockly hole*, a pun on the place where their hocks or ankles were confined. Hockley Hole, or Hockley i' th' Hole, was the name of a place near Clerkenwell Green, resorted to for vulgar diversions. There is an old ballad entitled "Hockley i' th' hole, to the tune of the Fiddler in the Stocks." See Old Ballads, vol. i. p. 294.

³ Referring to that distinction in the civil law which separates the jurisdiction over the body from that over the mind ; (see Justinian's Institutes, III. tit. 8.)—and perhaps to Spinoza, who says that "knowledge makes us free by destroying the dominion of the passions and the power of external things over ourselves." In the succeeding lines the author shows his learning, by bantering the stoic philosophy ; and his wit, by comparing Alexander the Great with Diogenes.

'Tis not restraint, or liberty,
 That makes men prisoners or free;
 But perturbations that possess
 The mind, or equanimities. 1020
 The whole world was not half so wide
 To Alexander, when he cry'd,
 Because he had but one to subdue,¹
 As was a paltry narrow tub to
 Diogenes: who is not said, 1025
 For aught that ever I could read,
 To whine, put finger i' th' eye, and sob,
 Because h' had ne'er another tub.
 The ancients make two sev'ral kinds
 Of prowess in heroic minds, 1030
 The active and the passive valiant,
 Both which are *pari libra* gallant;
 For both to give blows, and to carry,
 In fights are equi-necessary:
 But in defeats, the passive stout 1035
 Are always found to stand it out
 Most desp'rately, and to out-do
 The active, 'gainst a conqu'ring foe:
 Tho' we with blacks and blues are suggil'd,²
 Or, as the vulgar say, are cudgel'd; 1040
 He that is valiant, and dares fight,
 Though drubb'd, can lose no honour by't.
 Honour's a lease for lives to come,
 And cannot be extended from
 The legal tenant: 'tis a chattel 1045
 Not to be forfeited in battel.
 If he that in the field is slain,
 Be in the bed of honour lain,³
 He that is beaten may be said
 To lie in honour's truckle-bed.⁴ 1050

¹ See Juven. Sat. x. 168; xiv. 308.

² Beaten black and blue; from the Latin *suggillare*.

³ "The bed of honour," says Farquhar (in the Recruiting Officer), "is a mighty large bed. Ten thousand people may lie in it together and never feel one another."

⁴ The truckle-bed is a small bed upon wheels, which goes under the larger one. The pun is upon the word "truckle."

For as we see th' eclipsed sun
 By mortals is more gaz'd upon
 Than when, adorn'd with all his light,
 He shines in serene sky most bright ;
 So valour, in a low estate, 1055
 Is most admir'd and wonder'd at.

Quoth Ralph, How great I do not know
 We may, by being beaten, grow ;
 But none that see how here we sit,
 Will judge us overgrown with wit. 1060
 As gifted brethren, preaching by
 A carnal hour-glass,¹ do imply
 Illumination, can convey
 Into them what they have to say,
 But not how much ; so well enough 1065
 Know you to charge, but not draw off.
 For who, without a cap and bauble,²
 Having subdu'd a bear and rabble,
 And might with honour have come off,
 Would put it to a second proof: 1070
 A politic exploit, right fit
 For Presbyterian zeal and wit.³

Quoth Hudibras, That cuckoo's tone,
 Ralpho, thou always harp'st upon ;
 When thou at anything would'st rail, 1075
 Thou mak'st presbytery thy scale

¹ In those days there was always an hour-glass placed conspicuously on or near the pulpit, in an iron frame, which was set immediately after giving out the text. An hour, or the sand run out, was considered the legitimate length of a sermon. This preaching by the hour gave rise to an abundance of jokes, of which the following are examples : " A tedious spin-text having tired out his congregation by a sermon which had lasted through one turn of his glass and three parts of the second, without any prospect of its coming to a close, was, out of compassion to the yawning auditory, greeted with this short hint by the sexton, ' Pray, Sir, be pleased, when you have done, to leave the key under the door ; ' and thereupon departing, the congregation followed him." Another : A punning preacher, having talked a full hour, turned his hour-glass, and said : " Come, my friends, let us take another glass." ² Who but one who deserves a fool's cap.

³ Ralpho, being chagrined by his situation, not only blames the misconduct of the Knight, which had brought them into the scrape, but sneers at him for his religious principles. The Independents, at one time, were as inveterate against the Presbyterians as both were against the Church.

To take the height on't, and explain
 To what degree it is profane :
 Whats'ever will not with thy—what d'ye call
 Thy light—jump right, thou call'st synodical. 1080
 As if presbytery were a standard
 To size whats'ever's to be slander'd.
 Dost not remember how this day
 Thou to my beard was bold to say,
 That thou could'st prove bear-baiting equal 1085
 With synods, orthodox and legal ?
 Do, if thou can'st, for I deny't,
 And dare thee to't with all thy light.¹
 Quoth Ralpho, Truly that is no
 Hard matter for a man to do, 1090
 That has but any guts in's brains,²
 And could believe it worth his pains ;
 But since you dare and urge me to it,
 You'll find I've light enough to do it.
 Synods are mystical bear-gardens, 1095
 Where elders, deputies, church-wardens,
 And other members of the court,
 Manage the Babylonish sport.
 For prolocutor, scribe, and bearward,
 Do differ only in a mere word. 1100
 Both are but sev'ral synagogues
 Of carnal men, and bears, and dogs :
 Both antichristian assemblies,
 To mischief bent, as far's in them lies :
 Both stave and tail with fierce contests, 1105
 The one with men, the other beasts.
 The diff'rence is, the one fights with
 The tongue, the other with the teeth ;
 And that they bait but bears in this,
 In th' other souls and consciences ; 1110

¹ The Independents were great pretenders to inward light, for such they assumed to be the light of the spirit. They supposed that all their actions, as well as their prayers and preachings, were immediately directed by it.

² A proverbial expression for one who has some share of common sense ; used by Sancho Pança to Don Quixote (Gayton's Translation) upon his mistaking the barber's bason for a helmet. See Ray, in Handbook of Proverbs, p. 163.

Where saints themselves are brought to stake¹
 For gospel-light, and conscience-sake ;
 Expos'd to scribes and presbyters,
 Instead of mastiff dogs and curs ;
 Than whom th' have less humanity, 1115
 For these at souls of men will fly.
 This to the prophet did appear,
 Who in a vision saw a bear,
 Prefiguring the beastly rage
 Of church-rule, in this latter age :² 1120
 As is demonstrated at full
 By him that baited the pope's bull.³
 Bears naturally are beasts of prey,
 That live by rapine ; so do they.
 What are their orders, constitutions, 1125
 Church-censures, curses, absolutions,
 But sev'ral mystic chains they make,
 To tie poor Christians to the stake ?
 And then set heathen officers,
 Instead of dogs, about their ears. 1130
 For to prohibit and dispense,
 To find out, or to make offence ;
 Of hell and heav'n to dispose,
 To play with souls at fast and loose ;
 To set what characters they please, 1135
 And mulcts on sin or godliness ;
 Reduce the church to gospel-order,
 By rapine, sacrilege, and murder ;
 To make presbytery supreme,
 And kings themselves submit to them ;⁴ 1140

¹ The Presbyterians, when in power, by means of their synods, assemblies, classes, scribes, presbyters, triers, orders, censures, curses, &c. &c., persecuted the ministers, both of the Independents and of the Church of England, with violence and cruelty little short of the Inquisition.

² Daniel vii. 5. "And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear ; and it raised up itself on one side ; and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it : and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh."

³ The Baiting of the Pope's Bull was the title of a polemic pamphlet written against the Pope, by Henry Burton, rector of St Matthew, Friday-street, London, 1627.

⁴ The Disciplinaryans, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, maintained in

And force all people, tho' against
 Their consciences, to turn saints ;
 Must prove a pretty thriving trade,
 When saints monopolists are made :
 When pious frauds, and holy shifts, 1145
 Are dispensations and gifts ;
 There godliness becomes mere ware,
 And ev'ry synod but a fair.

Synods are whelps o' th' Inquisition,
 A mungrel breed of like pernicion,¹ 1155
 And growing up, became the sires
 Of scribes, commissioners, and triers ;²

their book, called Ecclesiastical Discipline, that kings ought to be subject to ecclesiastical censures, as well as other persons. This doctrine was revived by the Presbyterians, and actually put in practice by the Scots, in their treatment of Charles II. The Presbyterians, in the civil war, maintained "that princes must submit their sceptres, and throw down their crowns before the church, yea, lick the dust off the feet of the church ;" and Buchanan, in his famous "De Jure Regni apud Scotos," asserted, that "ministers may excommunicate princes, and that they, being by excommunication cast into hell, are not worthy to enjoy any life upon earth."

¹ The word pernicion appears to have been coined by our author from the Latin *pernicies*, and means destructive effect. It is given in *Webster's Dictionary*.

² The Presbyterians had a set of officers called Triers, commissioned by the two houses, who examined candidates for orders, and presentees to benefices, and sifted the qualifications of ruling elders in every congregation. See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. As the Presbyterians demanded of the Church of England, What command or example have you for kneeling at the communion, for wearing a surplice, for lord bishops, for a penned liturgy, &c. &c., so the Independents retorted upon them ; Where are your lay elders, your presbyters, your classes, your synods, to be found in Scripture ? where your steeple-houses, and your national church, or your tithes, or your metre psalms, or your two sacraments ? show us a command or example for them. See Dr Hammond's *View of the Directory*. The learned Dr Pocock was called before the Triers for ignorance and insufficiency of learning, and after an attendance of several months was acquitted, and then not on his own merits, but on the remonstrance of a deputation of the most learned men of Oxford, including Dr Owen, who was of their own party. This is confirmed by Dr Owen, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe. "One thing," says he, "I must needs trouble you with : there are in Berkshire some men of mean quality and condition, rash, heady, enemies of tythes, who are the commissioners for ejecting ministers : they alone sit and act, and are at this time casting out, on very slight and trivial pretences, very worthy men ; one in special they intend next week to eject, whose name is Pocock, a man of as unblameable a conversation as any that I know living, and of repute for learning throughout the world, being the

Whose bus'ness is, by cunning slight,
 To cast a figure for men's light ;
 To find, in lines of beard and face, 1155
 The physiognomy of grace ;¹
 And by the sound and twang of nose,
 If all be sound within disclose,
 Free from a crack, or flaw of sinning,
 As men try pipkins by the ringing ;² 1160
 By black caps, underlaid with white,³
 Give certain guess at inward light ;
 Which serjeants at the gospel wear,⁴
 To make the sp'ritual calling clear.
 The handkerchief about the neck, 1165
 —Canonical cravat of smeck,⁵

professor of Hebrew and Arabic in our University: so that they exceedingly exasperate all men, and provoke them to the height."

¹ The Triers pretended to great skill in this respect; and if they disliked the face or beard of a man, if he happened to be of a ruddy complexion, or cheerful countenance, they would reject him at once. Their questions were such as these: When were you converted? Where did you begin to feel the motions of the Spirit? In what year? In what month? On what day? About what hour of the day had you the secret call or motion of the Spirit to undertake and labour in the ministry? &c. &c. And they would try whether he had the true whining voice and nasal twang. Dr South, in his Sermon, says they were most properly called Cromwell's Inquisition, and that, "as the chief pretence of those Triers was to inquire into men's gifts, if they found them well gifted in the hand they never looked any further."

The reader (says Nash) may be inclined to think the dispute between the Knight and the Squire rather too long. But if he considers that the great object of the poem was to expose to scorn and contempt those sectaries and pretenders to extraordinary sanctity, who had overturned the constitution in Church and State, he will not wonder that the author indulges himself in this fine train of wit and humour.

² They judged of men's inward grace by his outward complexion. Dr Echarde says, "If a man had but a little blood in his cheeks, his condition was accounted very dangerous, and it was almost an infallible sign of reprobation: and I will assure you," he adds, "a very honest man, of a very sanguine complexion, if he chance to come by an officious zealot's house, might be put in the stocks for only looking fresh in a frosty morning."

³ Many persons, particularly the dissenters in our poet's time, were fond of wearing black caps lined with white. See the print of Baxter, and others.

⁴ A black coif, worn on the head, is the badge of a serjeant-at-law.

⁵ A club or junto, which wrote several books against the king, consisting of five Parliamentary holders-forth, namely: Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; the

From whom the institution came,
 When Church and State they set on flame,
 And worn by them as badges then
 Of spiritual warfaring-men,— 1170
 Judge rightly if regeneration
 Be of the newest cut in fashion :
 Sure 'tis an orthodox opinion,
 That grace is founded in dominion.¹
 Great piety consists in pride ; 1175
 To rule is to be sanctified :
 To domineer, and to control,
 Both o'er the body and the soul,
 Is the most perfect discipline
 Of church-rule, and by right divine. 1180
 Bell and the Dragon's chaplains were
 More moderate than those by far :²
 For they, poor knaves, were glad to cheat,
 To get their wives and children meat ;
 But these will not be fobb'd off so, 1185
 They must have wealth and power too ;
 Or else with blood and desolation,
 They'll tear it out o' th' heart o' th' nation.
 Sure these themselves from primitive
 And heathen priesthood do derive, 1190

initials of their names make the word *Smeetymnus* : and, by way of distinction, they wore handkerchiefs about their necks, which afterwards degenerated into earnal cravats. Hall, bishop of Exeter, presented a humble remonstrance to the high court of parliament, in behalf of liturgy and episcopacy ; which was answered by the junto under the title of *The Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy*, discussed by SMEETYMNUUS. (See John Milton's *Apology for Smeetymnus*.) They are remarkable also for another book, "*The King's Cabinet unlocked*," in which all the chaste and endearing expressions in letters that passed between Charles I. and his Queen are, by their painful labours in the Devil's vineyard, turned into ridicule.

¹ The Presbyterians held that those only who possessed grace were entitled to power.

² The priests, their wives, and children, feasted upon the provisions offered to the idol, and pretended that he had devoured them. See the Apocrypha, *Bel and the Dragon*, v. 15. The great gorbellied idol, called the *Assembly of Divines* (says Overton in his arraignment of Persecution), is not ashamed in this time of state necessity, to guzzle down and devour daily more at an ordinary meal than would make a feast for Bell and the Dragon ; for, besides their fat benefices forsooth, they must have their four shillings a day for setting in constollidation.

When butchers were the only clerks,¹
 Elders and presbyters of kirks ;
 Whose Directory was to kill ;
 And some believe it is so still.²
 The only difference is, that then 1195
 They slaughter'd only beasts, now men.
 For them to sacrifice a bullock,
 Or, now and then, a child to Moloch,
 They count a vile abomination,
 But not to slaughter a whole nation. 1200
 Presbytery does but translate
 The papacy to a free state,³
 A commonwealth of popery,
 Where ev'ry village is a see
 As well as Rome, and must maintain 1205
 A tithe-pig metropolitan ;
 Where ev'ry presbyter and deacon
 Commands the keys for cheese and bacon ;⁴
 And ev'ry hamlet's governed
 By's holiness, the church's head,⁵ 1210

¹ Both in the Heathen and Jewish sacrifices the animal was slaughtered by the priests.

² A banter on the Directory, or form of service drawn up by the Presbyterians, and substituted for the Common Prayer.

³ The resemblance between Papacy and Presbytery, which is here implied, is amusingly set forth by Dean Swift, in his Tale of a Tub, under the names of Peter and Jack.

⁴ Alluding to the well-known influence which dissenting ministers of all sects and denominations exercise over the purses of the female part of their flocks. As an illustration, Grey gives the following anecdote: Daniel Burgess, dining with a gentlewoman of his congregation, and a large uncut Cheshire cheese being brought to table, he asked where he should cut it. She replied, where you please, Mr Burgess. Upon which he ordered the servant in waiting to carry it to his own house, for he would cut it there.

⁵ The gentlemen of Cheshire sent a remonstrance to the parliament, wherein they complained that, instead of having twenty-six bishops, they were then governed by a numerous presbytery, amounting, with lay elders and others, to 40,000. This government, say they, is purely papal, for every minister exercises papal jurisdiction. Dr Grey quotes from Sir John Birkenhead revived:

But never look for health nor peace
 If once presbytery jade us,
 When every priest becomes a pope,
 When tinkers and sow-gelders
 May, if they can but 'scape the rope,
 Be princes and lay-elders.

More haughty and severe in's place
 Than Gregory and Boniface.¹
 Such church must, surely, be a monster
 With many heads: for if we conster²
 What in th' Apocalypse we find, 1215
 According to th' Apostle's mind,
 'Tis that the Whore of Babylon,
 With many heads, did ride upon;³
 Which heads denote the sinful tribe
 Of deacon, priest, lay-elder, scribe. 1220
 Lay-elder, Simeon to Levi,⁴
 Whose little finger is as heavy
 As loins of patriarchs, prince-prelate,
 And bishop-secular.⁵ This zealot
 Is of a mungrel, diverse kind, 1225
 Cleric before, and lay behind;⁶
 A lawless linsey-woolsey brother,⁷
 Half of one order, half another;

¹ Two most insolent and assuming popes, who endeavoured to raise the tiara above all the crowned heads in Christendom. Gregory VII., elected 1073, the son of a Smith, and commonly called Hildebrand, was the first pontiff who arrogated to himself the authority to excommunicate and depose the emperor. Boniface VIII., elected 1294, one of the most haughty, ambitious, and tyrannical men, that ever filled the papal chair, at the jubilee instituted by himself, appeared one day in the habit of a pope, and the next in that of an emperor; and caused two swords to be carried before him, to show that he was invested with all power ecclesiastical and temporal. Walsingham says that "he crept into the papacy like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog."
² Meaning "construe."

³ The Church of Rome has often been compared to the whore of Babylon. The beast which the whore rode upon is here said to signify the Presbyterian establishment: and the seven, or many heads of the beast, are interpreted, by the poet, to mean their several officers, deacons, priests, scribes, lay-elders, &c.

⁴ That is, lay-elder, an associate to the priesthood, for interested, if not for iniquitous purposes. Alluding to Genesis xlix. 5, 6. "Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations: O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man."

⁵ Such were formerly several of the bishops in Germany.

⁶ Sir Roger L'Estrange, in his key to Hudibras, tells us that one Andrew Crawford, a Scotch preacher, is here intended; others say William Dunning, a Scotch presbyter of a turbulent and restless spirit, diligent in promoting the cause of the kirk. But, probably, the author meant no more than to give a general picture of the lay-elders.

⁷ It was forbidden by the Levitical law to wear a mixture of linen and woollen in the same garment.

A creature of amphibious nature,
 On land a beast, a fish in water : 1230
 That always preys on grace or sin ;
 A sheep without, a wolf within.
 This fierce inquisitor has chief
 Dominion over men's belief
 And manners ; can pronounce a saint 1235
 Idolatrous, or ignorant,
 When superciliously he sifts,
 Through coarsest bolter, others' gifts.¹
 For all men live and judge amiss,
 Whose talents jump not just with his. 1240
 He'll lay on gifts with hand, and place
 On dullest noddle light and grace,
 The manufacture of the kirk,
 Whose pastors are but th' handiwork
 Of his mechanic paws, instilling 1245
 Divinity in them by feeling.
 From whence they start up chosen vessels,
 Made by contact, as men get measles.
 So cardinals, they say, do grope
 At th' other end the new-made pope.² 1250
 Hold, hold, quoth Hudibras, soft fire,
 They say, does make sweet malt. Good Squire,
Festina lente, not too fast ;
 For haste, the proverb says, makes waste.
 The quirks and cavils thou dost make 1255
 Are false, and built upon mistake :
 And I shall bring you, with your pack
 Of fallacies, t' Elenchi back ;³
 And put your arguments in mood
 And figure to be understood. 1260
 I'll force you by right ratiocination
 To leave your vitiligation.⁴

¹ A bolter is a coarse sieve for separating bran from flour.

² This alludes to the stercorary chair, used at the installations of some of the popes, and which, being perforated at the bottom, has given rise to the assertion that, to prevent the recurrence of a Pope Joan, the Pontiff elect is always examined through it by the youngest deacon.

³ Elenchi are arguments which deceive under an appearance of truth. The *Elenchus*, says Aldrich, is properly a syllogism which refutes an opponent by establishing that which contradicts his opinion.

⁴ That is, a perverse humour of wrangling, or, "contentious litigation."

And make you keep to the question close,
And argue dialecticōs.¹

The question then, to state it first, 1265

Is, which is better, or which worst,

Synods or bears. Bears I avow

To be the worst, and synodæ thū.

But, to make good th' assertion,

Thou say'st th' are really all one. 1270

If so, not worst; for if th' are *idem*,²

Why then, *tantundem dat tantidem*.

For if they are the same, by course

Neither is better, neither worse.

But I deny they are the same, 1275

More than a maggot and I am.

That both are *animalia*,³

I grant, but not *rationalia*:

For though they do agree in kind,

Specific difference we find; ⁴ 1280

And can no more make bears of these,

Than prove my horse is Socrates.⁵

That synods are bear-gardens too,

Thou dost affirm; but I say, No:

And thus I prove it, in a word, 1285

Whats'ever assembly's not impow'r'd

To censure, curse, absolve, and ordain,

Can be no synod: but bear-garden

¹ That is, dialectically, or logically.

² These are technical terms of school-logic.

³ Suppose (says Nash) to make out the metre, we read:

That both *indeed* are animalia.

The editor of 1819 proposes to read *of them* in place of indeed. But it was probably intended in the next line to ellipse *rationalia* into *rat'nalia* (pronounced rashnalia).

⁴ Between animate and inanimate things, as between a man and a tree, there is a generic difference, that is, one "in kind;" between rational and sensitive creatures, as a man and a bear, there is a specific difference; for though they agree in the genus of animals, or living creatures, yet they differ in the species as to reason. Between two men, Plato and Socrates, there is a numerical difference; for, though they are of the same species as rational creatures, yet they are not one and the same, but two men. See Part ii. Canto i. l. 150.

⁵ Or that my horse is a man. Aristotle, in his disputations, uses the word Socrates as an appellative for man in general; from him it was taken up in the schools.

Has no such power, ergo 'tis none ;
And so thy sophistry's o'erthrown. 1290

But yet we are beside the question
Which thou didst raise the first contest on :
For that was, Whether bears are better
Than synod-men ? I say, Negatur.
That bears are beasts, and synods men, 1295
Is held by all : they're better then,
For bears and dogs on four legs go,
As beasts ; but synod-men on two.

'Tis true, they all have teeth and nails ;
But prove that synod-men have tails : 1300

Or that a rugged, shaggy fur
Grows o'er the hide of presbyter ;
Or that his snout and spacious ears
Do hold proportion with a bear's.
A bear's a savage beast, of all 1305

Most ugly and unnatural,
Whelp'd without form, until the dam
Has lickt it into shape and frame :¹
But all thy light can ne'er evict,
That ever synod-man was lickt, 1310

Or brought to any other fashion
Than his own will and inclination.
But thou dost further yet in this
Oppugn thyself and sense ; that is,
Thou would'st have presbyters to go 1315

For bears and dogs, and bearwards too ;
A strange chimæra² of beasts and men,
Made up of pieces het'rogene ;
Such as in nature never met,
In eodem subjecto yet. 1320

¹ It was in Butler's time, and long afterwards, a popular notion that the cubs of the bear were mere "lumps of flesh," until fashioned by the tongue of their dam. See Ovid's *Metam.* XV. ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 36 (Bohn's Edit. vol. ii. p. 305). It is alluded to in Pope's *Dunciad*, i. 99, 100 :

So watchful Bruin forms, with plastic care,
Each growing lump, and brings it to a bear.

² Alluding to the fable of Chimæra in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, book IX. :

— and where Chimæra raves
On craggy rocks, with lion's face and mane,
A goat's rough body, and a serpent's train.

Described also by Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 180.

Thy other arguments are all
 Supposures hypothetical,
 That do but beg; and we may chuse
 Either to grant them, or refuse.
 Much thou hast said, which I know when, 1325
 And where thou stol'st from other men;
 Whereby 'tis plain thy light and gifts
 Are all but plagiary shifts;
 And is the same that Ranter said,
 Who, arguing with me, broke my head,¹ 1330
 And tore a handful of my beard;
 The self-same cavils then I heard,
 When b'ing in hot dispute about
 This controversy, we fell out;
 And what thou know'st I answer'd then 1335
 Will serve to answer thee agen.
 Quoth Ralpho, Nothing but th' abuse
 Of human learning you produce;
 Learning, that cobweb of the brain,
 Profane, erroneous, and vain;² 1340

¹ The Ranters were a vile sect, that denied all the doctrines of religion, natural and revealed, and believed sin and vice to be *the whole duty of man*. They held, says Alexander Ross, that God, Devil, Angels, Heaven, and Hell, were fictions; that Moses, John the Baptist, and Christ, were impostors, and that preaching was but public lying. With one of these the knight had entered into a dispute, and at last came to blows. Whitelocke says that the soldiers in the parliament army were frequently punished for being Ranters.

² The Independents and Anabaptists were great enemies to all human learning: they thought that preaching, and everything else, was to come by inspiration. Dr South says: "Latin unto them was a mortal crime, and Greek looked upon as a sin against the Holy Ghost. All learning was then cried down, so that with them the best preachers were such as could not read, and the ablest divines such as could not write. In all their preachments they so highly pretended to the spirit, that they hardly could spell the letter." We are told in the *Mercurius Rusticus*, that the tinkers and tailors who governed Chelmsford at the beginning of the Rebellion, asserted "that learning had always been an enemy to the gospel, and that it would be a happy state if there were no universities, and all books were burnt except the Bible." Their enmity to learning is well satirized by Shakspeare, who makes Jack Cade say when he ordered Lord Say's head to be struck off: "I am the besom that must sweep the court clean of such filth as thou art. Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm, in erecting a grammar school; and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books, but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and, contrary to the king, his crown

A trade of knowledge as replete,
 As others are with fraud and cheat ;
 An art t' incumber gifts and wit,
 And render both for nothing fit ;
 Makes light unactive, dull and troubled, 1345
 Like little David in Saul's doublet :¹
 A cheat that scholars put upon
 Other men's reason and their own ;
 A fort of error to ensconce
 Absurdity and ignorance, 1350
 That renders all the avenues
 To truth impervious, and abstruse,
 By making plain things, in debate,
 By art perplex'd, and intricate :
 For nothing goes for sense or light 1355
 That will not with old rules jump right,
 As if rules were not in the schools
 Deriv'd from truth, but truth from rules.²
 This pagan, heathenish invention
 Is good for nothing but contention. 1360
 For as in sword-and-buckler fight,
 All blows do on the target light ;
 So when men argue, the greatest part
 O' th' contest falls on terms of art,
 Until the fustian stuff be spent, 1365
 And then they fall to th' argument.
 Quoth Hudibras, Friend Ralph, thou hast
 Out-run the constable at last ;
 For thou art fallen on a new
 Dispute, as senseless as untrue, 1370
 But to the former opposite,
 And contrary as black to white ;

and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb ; and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear." Henry VI. Part II. Act iv. sc. 7.

¹ See 1 Samuel xvii, 38.

² Bishop Warburton, in a note on these lines, says : " This observation is just, the logicians have run into strange absurdities of this kind : Peter Ramus, the best of them, in his Logic, rejects a very just argument of Cicero's as sophistical, because it did not jump right with his rules."

Mere *disparata*,¹ that concerning
Presbytery, this human learning ;
Two things s' averse, they never yet, 1375
But in thy rambling fancy, met.²
But I shall take a fit occasion
T' evince thee by ratiocination,
Some other time, in place more proper
Than this w' are in : therefore let's stop here, 1380
And rest our weary'd bones awhile,
Already tir'd with other toil.

¹ Things so different from each other, that they cannot be compared.

² The Presbytery of those times had little learning among them, though many made pretences to it ; but, seeing all their boasted arguments and doctrines, wherever they differed from the Church of England, controverted and baffled by the learned divines of that Church, they found that without more learning they should not maintain their ground. Therefore, about the time of the Revolution, they began to think it very necessary, instead of Calvin's Institutes, and a Dutch System or two, to help them to arguments against Episcopacy, to study more polite books. It is certain that dissenting ministers, since that time, have both preached and written more learnedly and politely.





ARGUMENT.

The Knight being clapp'd by th' heels in prison,
The last unhappy expedition,¹
Love brings his action on the case,²
And lays it upon Hudibras.
How he receives³ the lady's visit,
And cunningly solicits his suit,
Which she defers: yet, on parole,
Redeems him from th' enchanted hole.

¹ In the editions previous to 1674, the lines stand thus:

The knight, by damnable magician,
Being cast illegally in prison.

² An action on the case, is an action for redress of wrongs and injuries, done without force, and not specially provided against by law.

³ The first editions read *revi's*. To *revie* means to cover a sum put down upon a hand at cards with a larger sum; also to retort or recriminate. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

PART II. CANTO I.

BUT now, t' observe romantique method,¹
 Let bloody² steel awhile be sheathed;
 And all those harsh and rugged sounds³
 Of bastinadoes, cuts, and wounds,
 Exchang'd to love's more gentle style, 5
 To let our reader breathe awhile:⁴
 In which, that we may be as brief as
 Is possible, by way of preface.
 Is't not enough to make one strange,⁵
 That some men's fancies⁶ should ne'er change, 10
 But make all people do and say
 The same things still the self-same way?
 Some writers make all ladies purloin'd,
 And knights pursuing like a whirlwind:⁷
 Others make all their knights, in fits 15
 Of jealousy, to lose their wits;

¹ The abrupt opening of this Canto is designed; being in imitation of the commencement of the fourth book of the *Æneid*,

“*At regina gravi jam dudum saucia cura,*” &c.

² *Var.* *rusty* steel in 1674—84, and *trusty* in 1700. Restored to *bloody* steel in 1704.

³ In like manner Shakspeare, Richard III. Act i. sc. 1, says:

“Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.”

For this and the three previous lines, the first edition has:

And unto love turn we our style
 To let our reader breathe awhile,
 By this time tir'd with th' horrid sounds
 Of blows, and cuts, and blood, and wounds.

⁵ That is, to make one wonder.

⁶ *Var.* That a man's fancy.

⁷ Alluding, probably, to Don Quixote's account of the enchanted Dulcineas, flying from him, like a whirlwind, in Montesino's Cave.

Till drawing blood o' th' dames, like witches,
 They're forthwith cur'd of their capriches.¹
 Some always thrive in their amours,
 By pulling plasters off their sores;² 20
 As cripples do to get an alms,
 Just so do they, and win their dames.
 Some force whole regions, in despite
 O' geography, to change their site;
 Make former times shake hands with latter, 25
 And that which was before, come after;³
 But those that write in rhyme still make
 The one verse for the other's sake;
 For one for sense, and one for rhyme,
 I think's sufficient at one time. 30
 But we forget in what sad plight
 We whilom⁴ left the captiv'd Knight
 And pensive Squire, both bruis'd in body
 And conjur'd into safe custody.
 Tir'd with dispute and speaking Latin, 35
 As well as basting and bear-baiting,
 And desperate of any course
 To free himself by wit or force,
 His only solace was, that now
 His dog-bolt⁵ fortune was so low, 40

¹ It was a vulgar notion that if you drew blood from a witch, she could not hurt you. Thus Cleveland, in his *Rebel Scot*:

Scots are like witches; do but whet your pen,
 Scratch till the blood comes, they'll not hurt you then.

See also Shakspeare, *Henry VI. Part I. Act i. sc. 5.*

² By showing their wounds to the ladies, who, it must be remembered, in the times of chivalry, were instructed in surgery and the healing art. In the romance of *Perceforest*, a young lady sets the dislocated arm of a knight.

³ A banter on these common faults of romance writers: even Shakspeare and Virgil have not wholly avoided them. The former transports his characters, in a quarter of an hour, from France to England: the latter has formed an intrigue between Dido and Æneas, who probably lived in very distant periods. The Spanish writers are rebuked for these violations of the unities in *Don Quixote*, ch. 21, where the canon speaks of having seen a play "in which the first act begins in Europe, the second in Asia, and the third in Africa."

⁴ *Var.* Lately.

⁵ In English, dog, in composition, like *δύς* in Greek, implies that the

That either it must quickly end
Or turn about again, and mend:¹
In which he found the event, no less
Than other times, beside his guess.

There is a tall long-sided dame,—² 45
But wond'rous light—ycleped Fame,
That like a thin chameleon boards
Herself on air,³ and eats her words;⁴
Upon her shoulders wings she wears
Like hanging sleeves, lin'd thro' with ears, 50
And eyes, and tongues, as poets list,
Made good by deep mythologist.
With these she thro' the welkin flies,⁵
And sometimes carries truth, oft lies;
With letters hung, like eastern pigeons,⁶ 65
And Mercuries of furthest regions;

thing denoted by the noun annexed to it is vile, bad, savage, or unfortunate in its kind: thus dog-rose, dog-latin, dog-trick, dog-cheap, and many others. Wright, in his Glossary, explains *dog-bolt* as a term of reproach, and gives quotation from Ben Jonson and Shadwell to that effect. The happiest illustration of the text is afforded in Beaumont and Fletcher's Spanish Curate:

“For, to say truth, the lawyer is a *dog-bolt*,
An arrant worm.”

¹ It was a maxim among the Stoic philosophers that things which were violent could not be lasting: *Si longa est, levis est; si gravis est, brevis est.*

² Our author has evidently followed Virgil (*Æneid. iv.*) in some parts of this description of Fame.

³ The vulgar notion is, that chameleons live on air, but they are known to feed on flies, caterpillars, and other insects. See Brown's *Vulgar Errors*, book iii. ch. 21.

⁴ The beauty of this simile, says Mr Warburton, “consists in the double meaning: the first alluding to Fame's living on report; the second implying that a report, if narrowly inquired into and traced up to the original author, is made to contradict itself.”

⁵ *Welkin* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *wole*, *wolen*, clouds, and is generally used by the English poets to denote the sky or visible region of the air.

⁶ The pigeons of Aleppo served as couriers. They were taken from their young ones, and conveyed to distant places in open cages, and when it became necessary to send home any intelligence, one was let loose, with a billet tied to her foot, when she flew back with great swiftness. They would return in less than ten hours from Alexandretto to Aleppo, and in two days from Bagdad. This method was practised at Mutina, when besieged by Antony. See Pliny's *Natural History*, lib. x. 37.

Diurnals writ for regulation
 Of lying, to inform the nation,¹
 And by their public use to bring down
 The rate of whetstones in the kingdom.² 60
 About her neck a packet-mail,
 Fraught with advice, some fresh, some stale,
 Of men that walk'd when they were dead,
 And cows of monsters brought to bed:³
 Of hail-stones big as pullets' eggs, 65
 And puppies whelp'd with twice two legs:⁴
 A blazing star seen in the west,
 By six or seven men at least.
 Two trumpets she does sound at once,⁵
 But both of clean contrary tones; 70
 But whether both with the same wind,
 Or one before, and one behind,
 We know not, only this can tell,
 The one sounds vilely, th' other well;
 And therefore vulgar authors name 75
 Th' one Good, th' other Evil Fame.

¹ The newspapers of those times, called *Mercuries* and *Diurnals*, were characterised by many of the contemporary writers as lying journals. Each party had its *Mercuries*: there was *Mercurius Rusticus*, and *Mercurius Aulicus*.

² *Whetstone* is a proverbial term, denoting an excitement to lying, or a subject that gave a man an opportunity of whetting his wit upon another. See Ray, in *Handbook of Proverbs*, p. 60. Thus Shakspeare makes *Celia* reply to *Rosalind* upon the entry of the *Clown*: "Fortune hath sent this natural for our whetstone; for always the dulness of the fool is the whetstone of the wits." Lying for the whetstone appears to have been a jocular custom. In *Lupton's "Too good-to be true"* occur these lines: "*Omen*. And what shall he gain that gets the victory in lying? *Sylla*. He shall have a silver whetstone for his labours." See a full account in *Brand's Popular Antiquities* (Bohn's edit.), vol. iii. p. 389—393.

³ Some stories of the kind are found in *Morton's History of Northamptonshire*, p. 447; *Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*; and *Philosophical Transactions*, xxvi. p. 310.

⁴ To make this story as wonderful as the rest, we ought to read thrice two, or twice four legs.

⁵ Chaucer makes *Æolus*, an attendant on *Fame*, blow the clarion of laud, and the clarion of slander, alternately, according to her directions; and in *Pope's Temple of Fame*, she has the trumpet of eternal praise, and the trumpet of slander.

This tattling¹ gossip knew too well,
 What mischief Hudibras befell;
 And straight the spiteful tidings bears,
 Of all, to th' unkind widow's ears. 80
 Democritus ne'er laugh'd so loud,²
 To see bawds carted through the crowd,
 Or funerals with stately pomp,
 March slowly on in solemn dump,
 As she laugh'd out, until her back, 85
 As well as sides, was like to crack.
 She vow'd she would go see the sight,
 And visit the distressed Knight,
 To do the office of a neighbour,
 And be a gossip at his labour;³ 90
 And from his wooden jail, the stocks,⁴
 To set at large his fetter-locks,
 And by exchange, parole, or ransom,
 To free him from th' enchanted mansion.
 This b'ing resolv'd, she call'd for hood 95
 And usher, implements abroad⁵
 Which ladies wear, beside a slender
 Young waiting damsel to attend her.
 All which appearing, on she went
 To find the Knight in limbo pent. 100
 And 'twas not long before she found
 Him, and his stout Squire, in the pound;
 Both coupled in enchanted tether,
 By further leg behind together:

¹ *Var.* "Twattling gossip," in the two first editions.

² Democritus was the "laughing philosopher." He regarded the common cares and pursuits of men as simply ridiculous, and ridiculed them accordingly.

³ Gossip, from God sib; that is, *sib*, or related by means of religion; a god-father or sponsor at baptism.

⁴ The original reading of this and the following line explains the meaning of the preceding one. In the two editions of 1664, they stand:

That is, to see him deliver'd safe
 Of 's wooden burthen, and Squire Ralph.

⁵ Some have doubted whether the word *usher* means an attendant, or part of her dress; but from Part III., Canto II., line 399, it is plain that it signifies the former.

For as he sat upon his rump, 105
 His head like one in doleful dump,¹
 Between his knees, his hands applied
 Unto his ears on either side,
 And by him, in another hole,
 Afflicted Ralpho, cheek by jowl,² 110
 She came upon him in his wooden
 Magician's circle, on the sudden,
 As spirits do t' a conjurer,
 When in their dreadful'st shapes th' appear.
 No sooner did the Knight perceive her, 115
 But straight he fell into a fever,
 Inflam'd all over with disgrace,
 To b' seen by her in such a place ;
 Which made him hang his head, and scowl
 And wink and goggle like an owl ; 120
 He felt his brains begin to swim,
 When thus the Dame accosted him :
 This place, quoth she, they say's enchanted,
 And with delinquent spirits haunted ;
 That here are tied in chains, and scourg'd, 125
 Until their guilty crimes be purg'd :
 Look, there are two of them appear
 Like persons I have seen somewhere :
 Some have mistaken blocks and posts
 For spectres, apparitions, ghosts, 130
 With saucer-eyes and horns ; and some
 Have heard the devil beat a drum :³
 But if our eyes are not false glasses,
 That give a wrong account of faces,
 That beard and I should be acquainted, 135
 Before 'twas conjur'd and enchanted.
 For though it be disfigur'd somewhat,
 As if 't had lately been in combat,

¹ See above, Part I., Canto II., line 95, and note.

² That is, cheek to cheek : derived from two Anglo-Saxon words, ceac, and ceole. See *jig by jowl* in Wright's Glossary.

³ The story of Mr Mompesson's house being haunted by a drummer, made a great noise about the time our author wrote. The narrative is told in Glanvil on Witchcraft.

It did belong t' a worthy Knight,
Howe'er this goblin is come by't. 140

When Hudibras the lady heard,
Discoursing thus upon his beard.¹
And speak with such respect and honour,
Both of the beard and the beard's owner,²
He thought it best to set as good 145

A face upon it as he could,
And thus he spoke: Lady, your bright
And radiant eyes are in the right;
The beard's th' identique beard you knew,
The same numerically true: 150
Nor is it worn by fiend or elf,
But its proprietor himself.

O heavens! quoth she, can that be true?
I do begin to fear 'tis you;
Not by your individual whiskers, 155

But by you dialect and discourse,
That never spoke to man or beast,
In notions vulgarly exprest:
But what malignant star, alas!
Has brought you both to this sad pass? 160

Quoth he, The fortune of the war,
Which I am less afflicted for,

¹ *Var.* To take kind notice of his beard. The clergy in the middle ages threatened to excommunicate the Knights who persisted in wearing their beards, because their clipped chins, "like stubble land at harvest home," made them disagreeable to their ladies.

² See the dignity of the beard maintained by Dr Bulwer in his *Artificial Changeling*, p. 196. He says, shaving the chin is justly to be accounted a note of effeminacy, as appears by eunuchs, who produce not a beard, the sign of virility. Alexander and his officers did not shave their beards till they were effeminated by Persian luxury. It was late before barbers were in request at Rome: they first came from Sicily 454 years after the foundation of Rome. Varro tells us, they were introduced by Ticinius Mena. Scipio Africanus was the first who shaved his face every day: the emperor Augustus used this practice. See Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* b. vii. c. 56. Diogenes, seeing one with a smooth-shaved chin, said to him, "Hast thou whereof to accuse nature for making thee a man and not a woman?"—The Rhodians and Byzantines, contrary to the practice of modern Russians, persisted against their laws and edicts in shaving and the use of the razor, —Ulmus, in his *de fine barbæ humanæ*, is of opinion that nature gave to mankind a beard, that it might remain as an index of the masculine generative faculty.—Beard-haters are by Barclay clapped on board the ship of fools.

Than to be seen with beard and face
 By you in such a homely case.¹
 Quoth she, Those need not be asham'd 165
 For being honourably maim'd ;
 If he that is in battle conquer'd
 Have any title to his own beard,
 Tho' yours be sorely lugg'd and torn,
 It does your visage more adorn 170
 Than if 'twere prun'd, and starch'd, and lander'd,²
 And cut square by the Russian standard.³
 A torn beard's like a tatter'd ensign,
 That's bravest which there are most rents in.
 That petticoat, about your shoulders, 175
 Does not so well become a soldier's ;
 And I'm afraid they are worse handled,
 Altho' i' th' rear your beard the van led ;⁴
 And those uneasy bruises make
 My heart for company to ache, 180
 To see so worshipful a friend
 I' th' pillory set, at the wrong end.
 Quoth Hudibras, This thing call'd pain,⁵
 Is, as the learned Stoics maintain,
 Not bad *simpliciter*, nor good, 185
 But merely as 'tis understood.

¹ *Var.* "Elenctique case," in the first editions.

² From the French word *lavendier*, a washer. Wright's Glossary.

³ Peter the Great of Russia had great difficulty in obliging his subjects to cut off their beards, and imposed a tax on them according to a given standard. The beaux in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. spent as much time in dressing their beards as modern beaux do in dressing their hair ; and many kept a person to read to him while the operation was performing. See John Taylor, the water poet's *Superbia Flagellum* (Works, p. 3), for a droll account of the fashions of the beard in his time. Bottom, the weaver, was a connoisseur in beards (*Mids. Night's Dream*, Act i. sc. 2).

⁴ The van is the front or fore part of an army, and commonly the post of danger and honour ; the rear the hinder part. So that making a front in the rear must be retreating from the enemy. By this comical expression the lady signifies that he turned tail on them, by which means his shoulders fared worse than his beard.

⁵ Some tenets of the Stoic philosophers are here burlesqued with great humour.

Sense is deceitful, and may feign
 As well in counterfeiting pain
 As other gross phenomenas,
 In which it oft mistakes the case. 190
 But since th' immortal intellect,
 That's free from error and defect,
 Whose objects still persist the same,
 Is free from outward bruise or maim,
 Which nought external can expose 195
 To gross material bangs or blows,
 It follows we can ne'er be sure
 Whether we pain or not endure ;
 And just so far are sore and griev'd,
 As by the fancy is believ'd. 200
 Some have been wounded with conceit,
 And died of mere opinion straight ;¹
 Others, tho' wounded sore, in reason
 Felt no contusion, nor discretion.²
 A Saxon Duke did grow so fat, 205
 That mice, as histories relate,
 Ate grots and labyrinths to dwell in
 His postique parts, without his feeling ;³
 Then how is't possible a kick
 Should e'er reach that way to the quick ? 210
 Quoth she, I grant it is in vain,
 For one that's basted to feel pain ;

¹ That is, died of fear. Several stories to this effect are upon record ; one of the most remarkable is the ease of the Chevalier Jarre, "who was upon the scaffold at Troyes, had his hair cut off, the handkerchief before his eyes, and the sword in the executioner's hand to cut off his head ; but the king pardoned him : being taken up, his fear had so taken hold of him, that he could not stand or speak : they led him to bed, and opened a vein, but no blood would come." Lord Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 166.

² According to the punctuation, it signifies, others, though really and sorely wounded (see the Lady's Reply, line 211), felt no bruise or cut : but if we put a semicolon after sore, and no stop after reason, the meaning may be, others, though wounded sore in body, yet in mind or imagination felt no bruise or cut. Discretion here signifies a cut, or separation of parts.

³ He argues from this story, that if a man could be so gnawed and mangled without feeling it, a kick in the same place would not inflict much hurt. The note in the old editions, attributed to Butler himself, cites the Rhine legend of Bishop Hatto, "who was quite eaten up by rats and mice," as much more strange.

Because the pangs his bones endure,
 Contribute nothing to the cure ;
 Yet honour hurt, is wont to rage 215
 With pain no med'cine can assuage.
 Quoth he, That honour's very squeamish
 That takes a basting for a blemish :
 For what's more honourable than scars,
 Or skin to tatters rent in wars ? 220
 Some have been beaten till they know
 What wood a cudgel's of by th' blow ;
 Some kick'd, until they can feel whether
 A shoe be Spanish or neat's leather :
 And yet have met, after long running, 225
 With some whom they have taught that cunning.
 The furthest way about, t' o'ercome,
 I' th' end does prove the nearest home.
 By laws of learned duellists,
 They that are bruis'd with wood or fists, 230
 And think one beating may for once
 Suffice, are cowards and poltroons :
 But if they dare engage t' a second,
 They're stout and gallant fellows reckon'd.
 Th' old Romans freedom did bestow, 235
 Our princes worship, with a blow :¹
 King Pyrrhus cur'd his splenetic
 And testy courtiers with a kick.²
 The Negus,³ when some mighty lord
 Or potentate's to be restor'd, 240

¹ One form of declaring a slave free, at Rome, was for the prætor, in the presence of certain persons, to give the slave a light stroke with a small stick, from its use called *vindicta*. See Horat. Sat. ii. 7, 75, and Persius, v. 88. Sometimes freedom was given by an *alapa*, or blow with the open hand upon the face or head. Pers. v. 75, 78.

² Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had this occult quality in his toe. It was believed he could cure the spleen by sacrificing a white cock, and with his right foot gently pressing the spleen of the person affected. Nor was any man so poor and inconsiderable as not to receive the benefit of his royal touch, if he desired it. The toe of that foot was said to have so divine a virtue, that after his death, the rest of his body being consumed, it was found untouched by the fire. See Plutarch, Life of Pyrrhus, and Pliny's Nat. Hist. vol. ii. p. 128 (Bohn).

³ Negus was the title of the king of Abyssinia.

And pardon'd for some great offence,¹
 With which he's willing to dispense,
 First has him laid upon his belly,
 Then beaten back and side t' a jelly ;²
 That done, he rises, humbly bows, 244
 And gives thanks for the princely blows ;
 Departs not meanly proud, and boasting
 Of his magnificent rib-roasting.
 The beaten soldier proves most manful,
 That, like his sword, endures the anvil, 250
 And justly's held more formidable,
 Tae more his valour's malleable :
 But he that fears a bastinado,
 Will run away from his own shadow :³
 And though I'm now in durance fast, 255
 By our own party basely cast,⁴
 Ransom, exchange, parole, refus'd,
 And worse than by the en'my us'd ;
 In close *catasta*⁵ shut, past hope
 Of wit or valour to elope ; 260
 As beards, the nearer that they tend
 To th' earth, still grow more reverend ;
 And cannons shoot the higher pitches,
 The lower we let down their breeches ;⁶
 I'll make this low dejected fate 265
 Advance me to a greater height.
 Quoth she, Y' have almost made m' in love
 With that which did my pity move.

¹ In the editions of 1664, this and the following line read thus :

"To his good grace, for some offence
 Forfeit before, and pardon'd since."

² This story is told in Le Blanc's Travels, Part ii. ch. 4.

³ The fury of Bucephalus proceeded from the fear of his own shadow. See Rabelais, vol. i. c. 14.

⁴ This was the chief complaint of the Presbyterians and Parliamentary party, when the Independents and the army ousted them from their mis-used supremacy ; and it led to their negotiations with the King, their espousal of the cause of his son, and ultimately to his restoration as Charles the Second.

⁵ A cage or prison wherein the Romans exposed slaves for sale. See Persius, vi. 76.

⁶ See note ², p. 39, *supra*.

Great wits and valours, like great states,
 Do sometimes sink with their own weights :¹ 270
 Th' extremes of glory and of shame,
 Like east and west, become the same.²
 No Indian Prince has to his palace
 More followers than a thief to the gallows.
 But if a beating seems so brave, 275
 What glories must a whipping have ?
 Such great achievements cannot fail
 To cast salt on a woman's tail :³
 For if I thought your nat'ral talent
 Of passive courage were so gallant, 280
 As you strain hard to have it thought,
 I could grow amorous, and dote.

When Hudibras this language heard,
 He prick'd up's ears, and strok'd his beard ;
 Thought he, this is the lucky hour, 285
 Wines work when vines are in the flower :⁴
 This crisis then I'll set my rest on,⁵
 And put her boldly to the question.

Madam, What you would seem to doubt
 Shall be to all the world made out, 290
 How I've been drubb'd, and with what spirit
 And magnanimity I bear it ;
 And if you doubt it to be true,
 I'll stake myself down against you :
 And if I fail in love or troth, 295
 Be you the winner, and take both.

¹ Thus Horace (Ep. xvi.) said that Rome was falling through the excess of its power.

² That is, glory and shame, which though opposite as east and west, sometimes become the same ; exemplifying the proverb : "Extremes meet."

³ Alluding to the common saying :—You will catch the bird if you throw salt on his tail.

⁴ A proverbial expression for the fairest and best opportunity of doing anything. It was the common belief of brewers, distillers of gin, and vinegar-makers, that their liquors fermented best when the plants used in them were in flower. (See Sir Kenelm Digby's "Discourse concerning the Cure of Wounds by Sympathy," p. 79.) Hudibras compares himself to the vine in flower, for he thinks he has set the widow fermenting.

⁵ *Crisis* is used here in the classical sense of "judgment" or "decision of a question."

Quoth she, I've heard old cunning stagers
 Say, fools for arguments use wagers.
 And though I prais'd your valour, yet
 I did not mean to baulk your wit, 300
 Which, if you have, you must needs know
 What, I have told you before now,
 And you by experiment have prov'd,
 I cannot love where I'm belov'd.
 Quoth Hudibras, 'Tis a caprich¹
 305
 Beyond the infliction of a witch;
 So cheats to play with those still aim,
 That do not understand the game.
 Love in your heart as idly burns
 As fire in antique Roman urns,² 310
 To warm the dead, and vainly light
 Those only that see nothing by 't.
 Have you not power to entertain,
 And render love for love again?
 As no man can draw in his breath 315
 At once, and force out air beneath.
 Or do you love yourself so much
 To bear all rivals else a grutch?
 What fate can lay a greater curse,
 Than you upon yourself would force, 320
 For wedlock without love, some say,³
 Is but a lock without a key.
 It is a kind of rape to marry
 One that neglects, or cares not for ye:

¹ Caprice is here pronounced in the manner of the Italian *capriccio*.

² Fortunius Licetus wrote concerning these lamps; and from him Bishop Wilkins quotes largely in his *Mathematical Memoirs*. In Camden's *Description of Yorkshire*, a lamp is said to have been found burning in the tomb of Constantius Chlorus. The story of the lamp, in the sepulchre of Tullia, the daughter of Cicero, which was supposed to have burnt above 1550 years, is told by Pancirollus and others. These so-called perpetual lamps of the ancients were probably the spontaneous or accidental combustion of inflammable gases generated in close sepulchres; or the phosphorescence exhibited by animal substances in a state of decomposition.

³ Thus Shakspeare, 1 *Henry VI.* Act v. se. 5.

"For what is wedlock forced, but a hell,
 An age of discord and continual strife?"

For what does make it ravishment 325
 But b'ing against the mind's consent ?
 A rape that is the more inhuman,
 For being acted by a woman.
 Why are you fair, but to entice us
 To love you, that you may despise us ? 330
 But though you cannot love, you say,
 Out of your own fantastic way,¹
 Why should you not, at least, allow
 Those that love you, to do so too :
 For as you fly me, and pursue 335
 Love more averse, so I do you :
 And am, by your own doctrine, taught
 To practise what you call a fault.
 Quoth she, If what you say be true,
 You must fly me, as I do you ; 340
 But 'tis not what we do, but say,²
 In love, and preaching, that must sway.
 Quoth he, To bid me not to love,
 Is to forbid my pulse to move,
 My beard to grow, my ears to prick up, 345
 Or, when I'm in a fit, to hickup :
 Command me to piss out the moon,
 And 'twill as easily be done.
 Love's power's too great to be withstood
 By feeble human flesh and blood. 350
 'Twas he that brought upon his knees
 The hect'ring kill-cow Hercules ;³
 Reduc'd his leaguer-lion's skin⁴
 T' a petticoat, and make him spin :

¹ This is Grey's emendation for "fanatick," which Butler's editions have, and it certainly agrees with what the widow says afterwards in lines 545, 546. But "fanatic" signifies "fantastic in the highest degree," and thus irrational, or absurd.

² "Do as I say, not as I do;" is said to have been the very rational recommendation of a preacher whose teaching was more correct than his practice.

³ It is of the essence of burlesque poetry to turn into ridicule such legends as the labours of Hercules; and the common epithet "kill-cow" was exactly adapted to the character of these exploits.

⁴ Leaguer was a camp; and "leaguer-lion's skin" is no more than the costume of Hercules the warrior, as contrasted with Omphale's petticoat, the costume of Hercules the lover. (See Skinner, *sub voce* Leaguer.)

Seiz'd on his club, and made it dwindle ¹ 355
 T' a feeble distaff, and a spindle.
 'Twas he made emperors gallants
 To their own sisters and their aunts ; ²
 Set popes and cardinals agog,
 To play with pages at leap-frog ; ³ 360
 'T was he that gave our senate purges,
 And flux'd the house of many a burgess ; ⁴
 Made those that represent the nation
 Submit, and suffer amputation :
 And all the grandees o' th' cabal, 365
 Adjourn to tubs, at spring and fall.
 He mounted synod-men, and rode 'em
 To Dirty-lane and Little Sodom ; ⁵
 Made 'em curvet, like Spanish gennets,
 And take the ring at Madam ———. ⁶ 370
 'Twas he that made Saint Francis do
 More than the devil could tempt him to ; ⁷

¹ See Ovid's Epistle of Dejanira to Hercules. (Bohn's Ovid. vol. iii. p. 81.)

² See Suetonius, Tacitus, and other historians of the Roman Empire.

³ The name of Alexander Borgia (Pope Alexander VI.) continues to be the synonyme for the unspeakable abominations of the Papal Court, in the times that were not long past when Butler wrote.

⁴ This alludes to the exclusion of the opponents of the army from the Parliament, called "Pride's Purge."

⁵ Dirty-lane was not an unfrequent name for a place like that referred to ; Maitland names five, in his time. One was in Old Palace Yard, and may have been meant by Butler. Little Sodom was near the Tower, on the site now occupied by St Catharine's Docks. These and other charges brought against the Puritan and Parliamentary leaders, will be found in Echard's History of England, and Walker's History of Independency. Cromwell, when he expelled the Long Parliament, himself called Martyn and Wentworth, "whoremasters."

⁶ Sir Roger L'Estrange's "Key" fills up the blank with the name of "Stennet," the wife of a "broom-man" and lay-elder ; and the same name is given in our contemporary MS. She is said to have followed "the laudable employment of bawding, and managed several intrigues for those brothers and sisters, whose piety consisted chiefly in the whiteness of their linen." The Tatler mentions a lady of this stamp, called Bennet.

⁷ In the Life of St Francis, we are told that, being tempted by the devil in the shape of a virgin, he subdued his passion by rolling himself naked in the snow.

In cold and frosty weather grow
 Enamour'd of a wife of snow ;
 And though she were of rigid temper, 375
 With melting flames accost and tempt her :
 Which after in enjoyment quenching,
 He hung a garland on his engine.¹

Quoth she, If love have these effects,
 Why is it not forbid our sex ? 380
 Why is 't not damn'd, and interdicted,
 For diabolical and wicked ?

And sung, as out of tune, against,
 As Turk and Pope are by the saints ?²
 I find, I've greater reason for it, 385
 Than I believ'd before t' abhor it.

Quoth Hudibras, These sad effects
 Spring from your heathenish neglects
 Of love's great pow'r, which he returns

Upon yourselves with equal scorns ; 390
 And those who worthy lovers slight,
 Plagues with prepost'rous appetite ;

This made the beauteous queen of Crete
 To take a town-bull for her sweet ;³
 And from her greatness stoop so low, 395
 To be the rival of a cow.

Others, to prostitute their great hearts,
 To be baboons' and monkeys' sweet-hearts.⁴
 Some with the devil himself in league grow,
 By's representative a negro ;⁵ 400

¹ In the history of Howell's Life of Lewis XIII. p. 80, it is said that the French horsemen, who were killed at the Isle of Rhé, had their mistresses' favours tied about their engines

² Perhaps alluding to Robert Wisdom's hymn :

“ Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word—
 From Turk and Pope, defend us, Lord.”

³ Pasiphaë, the wife of Minos, of Crete, according to the myth, fell in love with a bull, and brought him a son.

⁴ Old books of Natural History contain many stories of the “ abduction ” of women by the Mandrill, and other great kinds of ape. And fouler tales than these were circulated after the Restoration, against the Puritans.

⁵ Such an amour forms the plot of Titus Andronicus, a play which Shakspeare revised for the stage, and which has in consequence been wrongly ascribed to him.

'Twas this made vestal maids love-sick,
 And venture to be buried quick.¹
 Some, by their fathers and their brothers,²
 To be made mistresses, and mothers;³
 'Tis this that proudest dames enamours 105
 On lacqueys, and *varlets-des-chambres*;⁴
 Their haughty stomachs overcomes,
 And makes 'em stoop to dirty grooms,
 To slight the world, and to disparage
 Claps, issue, infamy, and marriage.⁵ 410

Quoth she, These judgments are severe,
 Yet such as I should rather bear,
 Than trust men with their oaths, or prove
 Their faith and secrecy in love.

Says he, There is a weighty reason 415
 For secrecy in love as treason.
 Love is a burglarer, a felon,
 That in the windore-eye⁶ does steal in
 To rob the heart, and, with his prey,
 Steals out again a closer way, 420
 Which whosoever can discover,
 He's sure, as he deserves, to suffer.
 Love is a fire, that burns and sparkles
 In men, as naturally as in charcoals,
 Which sooty chemists stop in holes, 425
 When out of wood they extract coals;⁷
 So lovers should their passions choke,
 That tho' they burn, they may not smoke.

¹ By the Roman law vestal virgins, who broke their vow of chastity, were buried alive. See the story of Myrrha in Ovid. *Metam.* (Bohn's Ovid's M. p. 359).

² The marriage of brothers and sisters was common amongst royal families in Egypt and the East.

³ Probably alluding to Lueretia Borgia, daughter of Pope Alexander VI., whom Roscoe (*Leo X.* App.) has attempted to defend against these charges.

⁴ Varlet is the old form of *valet*. Thus knave, which now signifies a cheat, formerly meant no more than a servant.

⁵ That is, to be indifferent to the consequences of illicit amours; the absence of marriage and legitimate offspring on the one hand, and the acquisition of elaps and infamy on the other.

⁶ Thus spelt in all editions before 1700 for "window," and perhaps most agreeably to the etymology. See Skinner.

⁷ Charecoal is made by burning wood under a cover of turf and mould, which keeps it from blazing.

'Tis like that sturdy thief that stole,
 And dragg'd beasts backward into's hole ;¹ 430
 So love does lovers, and us men
 Draws by the tails into his den,
 That no impression may discover,
 And trace t' his cave, the wary lover.
 But if you doubt-I should reveal 435
 What you intrust me under seal,²
 I'll prove myself as close and virtuous
 As your own secretary, Albertus.³
 Quoth she, I grant you may be close
 In hiding what your aims propose : 440
 Love-passions are like parables,
 By which men still mean something else :
 Tho' love be all the world's pretence,
 Money's the mythologic sense,⁴
 The real substance of the shadow, 445
 Which all address and courtship's made to.
 Thought he, I understand your play,
 And how to quit you your own way ;
 He that will win his dame, must do
 As Love does, when he bends his bow ; 450
 With one hand thrust the lady from,
 And with the other pull her home.⁵
 I grant, quoth he, wealth is a great
 Provocative to am'rous heat :

¹ Cacus, the noted robber, when he had stolen cattle, drew them backward by their tails into his den, lest their tracks should lead to the discovery of them. See Virgil, *Æneid*. viii. 205. Also Addison's Works (Bohn), v. 220.

² There is, no doubt, an allusion here to the obligation of secrecy, on the part of the confessor, respecting the confession of penitents, except in the case of crimes ; which was also enjoined upon ministers of the English Church, by the 113th Canon of 1603.

³ Albertus Magnus, Bp of Ratisbon about 1260, wrote a book, *De Secretis Mulierum* ; whence the poet facetiously calls him woman's secretary.

⁴ Grey says this is illustrated in the story of Inkle and Yarico. *Spectator*, XI.

⁵ The *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 530, describes an interview between Perkin Warbeck and Lady Katharine Gordon, which illustrates this kind of dalliance. "With a kind of reverence and fashionable gesture, after he had kissed her thrice, he took her in both his hands, crosswise, and gazed upon her, with a kind of putting her from him and pulling her to

It is all philtres and high diet, 455
 That makes love rampant, and to fly out :
 'Tis beauty always in the flower,
 That buds and blossoms at fourscore :
 'Tis that by which the sun and moon,
 At their own weapons are outdone :¹ 460
 That makes knights-errant fall in trances,
 And lay about 'em in romances :
 'Tis virtue, wit, and worth, and all
 That men divine and sacred call :
 For what is worth in anything, 465
 But so much money as 'twill bring ?
 Or what but riches is there known,
 Which man can solely call his own ;
 In which no creature goes his half,
 Unless it be to squint and laugh ? 470
 I do confess, with goods and land,²
 I'd have a wife at second hand ;
 And such you are : nor is't your person
 My stomach's set so sharp and fierce on ;
 But 'tis your better part, your riches, 475
 That my enamour'd heart bewitches :
 Let me your fortune but possess,
 And settle your person how you please ;
 Or make it o'er in trust to the devil,
 You'll find me reasonable and civil. 480
 Quoth she, I like this plainness better
 Than false mock-passion, speech, or letter,
 Or any feat of qualm or sowning,³
 But hanging of yourself, or drowning ;
 Your only way with me to break 485
 Your mind, is breaking of your neck :

him ; and so again and again re-kissed her, and set her in her place, with a pretty manner of enforcement."

¹ Gold and silver are marked by the sun and moon in chemistry, as they were supposed to be more immediately under the influence of those luminaries. The appropriation of the seven metals known to the ancients, to the seven planets with which they were acquainted, respectively, may be traced as high as Proclus, in the fifth century. The splendour of gold is more refulgent than the rays of the sun and moon.

² Compare the whole of this passage with Petruchio's speech in the *Taming of the Shrew*, Act i. se. 2 ; and Grumio's explanation of it.

³ Altered to " swooning " in the edition of 1700.

For as when merchants break, o'erthrown
 Like nine-pins, they strike others down ;
 So that would break my heart ; which done,
 My tempting fortune is your own. 490
 These are but trifles ; every lover
 Will damn himself over and over,
 And greater matters undertake
 For a less worthy mistress' sake :
 Yet th' are the only ways to prove 495
 Th' unfeign'd realities of love ;
 For he that hangs, or beats out's brains,
 The devil's in him if he feigns.
 Quoth Hudibras, This way's too rough
 For mere experiment and proof ; 500
 It is no jesting, trivial matter,
 To swing i' th' air, or douce in water, ¹
 And, like a water-witch, try love ; ²
 That's to destroy, and not to prove :
 As if a man should be dissected, 505
 To find what part is disaffected :
 Your better way is to make over,
 In trust, your fortune to your lover : ³
 Trust is a trial ; if it break,
 'Tis not so desp'rate as a neck : 510
 Beside, th' experiment's more certain,
 Men venture necks to gain a fortune :
 The soldier does it every day, ⁴
 Eight to the week, for six-pence pay : ⁵

¹ *Var.* "plunge in water," or "dive in water."

² The common test for witchcraft was to throw the suspected witch into the water. If she swam, she was judged guilty; if she sank, she preserved her character, and only lost her life. King James, in his *Dæmonology*, explained the floating of the witch by the refusal of the element used in baptism to receive into its bosom one who had renounced the blessing of it. The last witch swum in England was an old woman in a village of Suffolk, about 30 years ago.

³ Grey compares this to the highwayman's advice to a gentleman upon the road; "Sir, be pleased to leave your watch, your money, and your rings with me, or by — you'll be robbed."

⁴ This and the three following lines were added in the edition of 1674.

⁵ Warburton explains that "if a soldier gets only sixpence a day, and one day's pay is reserved weekly for stoppages, he must make eight days to the week before he will receive a clear week's pay." Percennius, the mutinous

Your pettifoggers damn their souls, 516
 To share with knaves in cheating fools :
 And merchants, venturing through the main,¹
 Slight pirates, rocks, and horns for gain.
 This is the way I advise you to,
 Trust me, and see what I will do. 520

Quoth she, I should be loth to run
 Myself all th' hazard, and you none ;
 Which must be done, unless some deed
 Of yours aforesaid do precede ;
 Give but yourself one gentle swing² 525
 For trial, and I'll cut the string :
 Or give that rev'rend head a maul,
 Or two, or three, against a wall ;
 To show you are a man of mettle,
 And I'll engage myself to settle. 530

Quoth he, My head's not made of brass,
 As Friar Bacon's noddle was ;³
 Nor, like the Indian's skull, so tough,
 That, authors say, 'twas musket-proof :⁴
 As it had need to be to enter, 535
 As yet, on any new adventure ;
 You see what bangs it has endur'd,
 That would, before new feats, be cur'd :

soldier in Tacitus (Annals I. c. 17), seems to have been sensible of some such hardship.

¹ See Spectator, No. 450.

² Grey surmises from Hudibras's refusal to comply with this request, that he would by no means have approved an antique game invented by a Thracian tribe, of which we are told by Martinus Scriblerus (book i. ch. 6) that one of the players was hung up, and had a knife given him to cut himself down with ; of course, forfeiting his life if he failed.

³ It was one of the legends respecting that great natural philosopher, Roger Bacon, that he had formed a head of brass, which uttered these words, *Time is*. Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Vulgar Errors*, book vii. ch. 17, § 7, explains it as a kind of myth regarding "the philosopher's great work"—the making of gold. In Sir Francis Palgrave's "Merchant and Friar," it is no more than the extremity of a tube for conveying messages from one room to another.

⁴ Blockheads and loggerheads, says Bulwer (*Artificial Changeling*, p. 42), are in request in Brazil, and helmets are of little use, every one having a natural morion of his head : for the Brazilians' heads, some of them, are as hard as the wood that grows in their country, so that they cannot be broken. See also Purchas's Pilgr. fol. vol. iii. p. 993.

But if that's all you stand upon,
Here, strike me luck, it shall be done.¹ 540

Quoth she, The matter's not so far gone
As you suppose, two words t' a bargain;
That may be done, and time enough,
When you have given downright proof:
And yet, 'tis no fantastic pique 545

I have to love, nor coy dislike;
'Tis no implicit, nice aversion²
T' your conversation, mien, or person:
But, a just fear, lest you should prove
False and perfidious in love; 550
For if I thought you could be true,
I could love twice as much as you.

Quoth he, My faith, as adamant
As chains of destiny, I'll maintain;
True as Apollo ever spoke, 555
Or oracle from heart of oak;³

And if you'll give my flame but vent,
Now in close hugger-mugger pent,
And shine upon me but benignly,
With that one, and that other pigsney,⁴ 560

The sun and day shall sooner part,
Than love, or you, shake off my heart:
The sun that shall no more dispense
His own, but your bright influence;
I'll carve your name on barks of trees,⁵ 565
With true love-knots, and flourishes;

¹ In ancient times, when butchers and country people made a bargain, one of the parties held out in his hand a piece of money, which the other struck, and the bargain was closed. Compare this "impolite way of counting" with the following expression;—

"Come, *strike me luck* with earnest, and draw the writings."

Beaumont and Fletcher.—*Scornful Lady*, Act ii.

² Implicit signifies secret, not explicit; here was not a fanciful aversion which could not be explained. Nice means over-refined or squeamish.

³ Jupiter's oracle near Dodona, in Epirus; Apollo's oracle was the celebrated one at Delphi.

⁴ Pigsney is a term of endearment; used here, however, of the eyes alone. In *Pembroke's Arcadia*, Dametas says to his wife, "Miso, mine own pigsnie." Somner gives *piga* (Danish), "a little maid," as the etymology of this word; which is a purely burlesque expression.

⁵ See *Don Quixote*, vol. i. ch. 4, and vol. iv. ch. 73; As you like it, Act 3.

That shall infuse eternal spring,
 And everlasting flourishing :
 Drink every letter on't in stum,¹
 And make it brisk champagne become ; 570
 Where'er you tread, your foot shall set
 The primrose and the violet ;
 All spices, perfumes, and sweet powders,
 Shall borrow from your breath their odours ;
 Nature her charter shall renew, 575
 And take all lives of things from you ;
 The world depend upon your eye,
 And when you frown upon it, die.
 Only our loves shall still survive,
 New worlds and natures to outlive ; 580
 And like to heralds' moons, remain
 All crescents, without change or wane.
 Hold, hold, quoth she, no more of this,
 Sir Knight, you take your aim amiss ;
 For you will find it a hard chapter, 585
 To catch me with poetic rapture,
 In which your mastery of art
 Doth show itself, and not your heart ;
 Nor will you raise in mine combustion,
 By dint of high heroic fustian : 590
 She that with poetry is won,
 Is but a desk to write upon ;
 And what men say of her, they mean
 No more than on the thing they lean.

¹ Stum (from the Latin *mustum*) is any new, thick, unfermented liquor. Hudibras means that bad wine would turn into good, foul muddy wine into clear sparkling champagne, by drinking the widow's health in it. It was a custom among the gallants of Butler's time, to drink a bumper to their mistress' health to every letter of her name. The custom prevailed among the Romans: thus the well-known epigram of Martial:

Lævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur,
 Quinque Lyeas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus.
 Omnis ab infuso numeretur amica falerno.—Ep. I. 72.

For every letter drink a glass
 That spells the name you fancy,
 Take four, if Suky be your lass,
 And five, if it be Nancy.

Some with Arabian spices strive 595
 T' embalm her cruelly alive ;
 Or season her, as French cooks use
 Their *haut-gouts*, *bouillies*, or *ragouts* ;¹
 Use her so barbarously ill,
 To grind her lips upon a mill,² 600
 Until the facet doublet doth³
 Fit their rhymes rather than her mouth ;⁴
 Her mouth compar'd t' an oyster's, with
 A row of pearl in't, 'stead of teeth ;
 Others make posies of her cheeks, 605
 Where red and whitest colours mix ;
 In which the lily and the rose,
 For Indian lake and ceruse goes.⁵
 The sun and moon, by her bright eyes,
 Eclips'd and darken'd in the skies ; 610
 Are but black patches that she wears,
 Cut into suns, and moons, and stars,⁶
 By which astrologers, as well
 As those in heav'n above, can tell
 What strange events they do foreshow, 615
 Unto her under-world below.⁷

¹ Till the edition of 1704, this line stood :

Their haut-gusts, buollies, or ragusts.

These things were "made-dishes," and were all highly flavoured, and hot with spices.

² As they do by comparing her lips to rubies, which are polished by a mill.

³ *Facet*, a little face, or small surface. Diamonds and precious stones are ground *à la facette*, or with many faces or small surfaces, that they may have the greater lustre. A doublet is a false stone, made of two crystals joined together with green or red cement between them, in order to resemble stones of that colour. Facet doublet, therefore, is a false stone cut in faces.

⁴ See Don Quixote, ch. 73 and ch. 38 ; also the description of "a Whore," by John Taylor, the water poet, for other satires on this fantastic habit of lovers.

⁵ These are the names of two pigments, the former crimson ; the latter a preparation of white lead and vinegar.

⁶ The ladies formerly were very fond of wearing a great number of black patches on their faces, often cut in fantastical shapes. See Bulwer's *Artificial Changeling*, p. 252, &c. ; *Spectator*, No. 50 ; and Beaumont and Fletcher's "Elder Brother," Act iii. sc. 11.

⁷ A double entendre. This and the three preceding lines do not appear in the editions of 1664, but were added in 1674.

Her voice, the music of the spheres,
 So loud, it deafens mortal ears ;
 As wise philosophers have thought,
 And that's the cause we hear it not.¹ 620
 This has been done by some, who those
 Th' ador'd in rhyme, would kick in prose ;
 And in those ribbons would have hung,
 Of which melodiously they sung.²
 That have the hard fate, to write best 625
 Of those still that deserve it least ;³
 It matters not how false, or forc'd,
 So the best things be said o' th' worst ;
 It goes for nothing when 'tis said,
 Only the arrow's drawn to th' head, 630
 Whether it be a swan or goose
 They level at : so shepherds use
 To set the same mark on the hip,
 Both of their sound and rotten sheep :
 For wits that carry low or wide, 635
 Must be aim'd higher, or beside
 The mark, which else they ne'er come nigh,
 But when they take their aim awry.
 But I do wonder you should chuse
 This way t' attack me with your muse. 640

¹ Pythagoras asserted that this world is made according to musical proportion ; and that the seven planets, betwixt heaven and earth, which govern the nativities of mortals, have an harmonious motion, and render various sounds, according to their several heights, so consonant, that they make most sweet melody, but to us inaudible, because of the greatness of the noise, which the narrow passage of our ears is not capable to receive. He is presumed to have interpreted the passage in Job literally : " When the morning stars sang together," chap. xxix. 7. Stanley's *Life of Pythagoras*, p. 393. Milton wrote on the *Harmony of the Spheres*, when at Cambridge ; and has some fine lines on the subject, in his *Arcades*, and in his *Paradise Lost*, v. 625, &c. See Shakspeare's *Merchant of Venice* Act v. sc. 1, for the most exquisite passage in the language on this subject.

² Thus Waller on a girdle :

" Give me but what this *riband* bound."

³ Warburton was of opinion that Butler alluded to one of Mr Waller's poems on *Saccharissa*, where he complains of her unkindness. Others suppose, with more probability, that he alludes to the poet's well-known reply to the king, when he reproached him with having written best in praise of Oliver Cromwell. " We poets," says he, " succeed better in fiction than in truth."

As one cut out to pass your tricks on,
 With fulhams of poetic fiction :¹
 I rather hop'd I should no more
 Hear from you o' th' gallanting score ;
 For hard dry-bastings us'd to prove 645
 The readiest remedies of love,
 Next a dry diet ; but if those fail,
 Yet this uneasy loop-hol'd jail,
 In which y' are hamper'd by the fetlock,
 Cannot but put y' in mind of wedlock : 650
 Wedlock, that's worse than any hole here,
 If that may serve you for a cooler,
 T' allay your mettle, all agog
 Upon a wife, the heavier clog.
 Nor rather thank your gentler fate, 655
 That, for a bruis'd or broken pate,
 Has freed you from those knobs that grow,
 Much harder, on the marry'd brow :
 But if no dread can cool your courage,
 From vent'ring on that dragon, marriage ; 660
 Yet give me quarter, and advance
 To nobler aims your puissance ;
 Level at beauty and at wit ;
 The fairest mark is easiest hit.
 Quoth Hudibras, I am beforehand 665
 In that already, with your command ;
 For where does beauty and high wit
 But in your constellation meet ?
 Quoth she, What does a match imply,
 But likeness and equality ? 670
 I know you cannot think me fit
 To be th' yokefellow of your wit ;
 Nor take one of so mean deserts,
 To be the partner of your parts ;

¹ That is, with cheats or impositions. Fulham was a cant word for a false dice, many of them, as it is supposed, being made at that place. The high dice were loaded so as to come up 4, 5, 6, and the low ones 1, 2, 3.

“For gourd and fullam holds,” says Pistol,

‘And high and low beguile the rich and poor.’

Merry Wives of Windsor, Act i. sc. 3.

And Cleveland says : “Now a Scotchman's tongue runs high fulhams.”

A grace which, if I could believe,
I've not the conscience to receive.¹ 675

That conscience, quoth Hudibras,
Is misinform'd; I'll state the case.
A man may be a legal donor
Of anything whereof he's owner, 680
And may confer it where he lists,
I' th' judgment of all casuists:
Then wit, and parts, and valour may
Be ali'nated, and made away,
By those that are proprietors, 685
As I may give or sell my horse.

Quoth she, I grant the case is true,
And proper 'twixt your horse and you;
And whether I may take, as well
As you may give away, or sell? 690
Buyers, you know, are bid beware;²
And worse than thieves receivers are.
How shall I answer Hue and Cry³
For a roan gelding, twelve hands high,⁴
All spurr'd and switch'd, a lock on's hoof,⁵ 695
A sorrel mane? Can I bring proof
Where, when, by whom, and what y' were sold for,
And in the open market toll'd for?⁶
Or, should I take you for a stray,
You must be kept a year and day,⁷ 700

¹ Conscience is here used as a word of two syllables, and in the next line as three.

² See *Caveat emptor!* Dict. of Classical Quotations.

³ Hue and Cry was the legal notice to a neighbourhood for pursuit of a felon. See Blackstone.

⁴ This is a galling reflection upon the knight's abilities, his complexion, and his height, which the widow intimates was not more than four feet.

⁵ There is humour in the representation which the widow makes of the knight, under the similitude of a roan gelding, supposed to be stolen, or to have strayed. Farmers often put locks on the fore-feet of their horses, to prevent their being stolen, and the knight had his feet fast in the stocks at the time.

⁶ This alludes to the custom enjoined by two Acts, 2 & 3 Phil. and Mary, and 31 Eliz., of tolling horses at fairs, to prevent the sale of any that might have been stolen, and help the owners to the recovery of them.

⁷ Estrays, or cattle which came astray, were cried on two market days, and in two adjoining market towns, and if not claimed within a year and a day, they became the property of the lord of the liberty (or manor).

Ere I can own you, here i' th' pound,
 Where, if ye're sought, you may be found ;
 And in the mean time I must pay
 For all your provender and hay.

Quoth he, It stands me much upon 705

T' enervate this objection,
 And prove myself, by topic clear,
 No gelding, as you would infer.

Loss of virility's averr'd

To be the cause of loss of beard,¹ 710

That does, like embryo in the womb,
 Abortive on the chin become :

This first a woman did invent,

In envy of man's ornament :

Semiramis of Babylon,

715

Who first of all cut men o' th' stone,²

To mar their beards, and laid foundation

Of sow-geldering operation :

Look on this beard, and tell me whether

Eunuchs wear such, or geldings either ? 720

Next it appears I am no horse,

That I can argue and discourse,

Have but two legs, and ne'er a tail.

Quoth she, That nothing will avail ;

For some philosophers of late here, 725

Write men have four legs by nature,³

And that 'tis custom makes them go

Erroneously upon but two ;

As 'twas in Germany made good,

B' a boy that lost himself in a wood ; 730

¹ See the note on line 114 of this Canto.

² Semiramis, queen of Assyria, is reputed to be the first that invented eunuchs: *Semiramis teneros mares castravit omnium prima* (Am. Marcellinus, i. 24), which is thought to be somewhat strange in a lady of her constitution, who is said to have received horses into her embrace. But the poet means to laugh at Dr Bulwer, who in his *Artificial Changeling*, scene 21, has many strange stories; and in page 208, says, "Nature gave to mankind a beard, that it might remain an index in the face of the masculine generative faculty."

³ Sir Kenelm Digby, in his book of *Bodies*, has the well-known story of the wild German boy, who went on all fours, was overgrown with hair, and lived among the wild beasts; the credibility and truth of which he endeavours to establish by several natural reasons. See also Tatler, No. 103.

And growing down t' a man, was wont
 With wolves upon all four to hunt.
 As for your reasons drawn from tails,¹
 We cannot say they're true or false,
 Till you explain yourself, and show 735
 B' experiment, 'tis so or no.
 Quoth he, If you'll join issue on't,²
 I'll give you satisfact'ry account ;
 So you will promise, if you lose,
 To settle all, and be my spouse. 740
 That never shall be done, quoth she,
 To one that wants a tail, by me ;
 For tails by nature sure were meant,
 As well as beards, for ornament ;³
 And tho' the vulgar count them homely, 745
 In man or beast they are so comely,
 So *gentee*, *alamode*, and handsome,⁴
 I'll never marry man that wants one :
 And till you can demonstrate plain,
 You have one equal to your mane, 750
 I'll be torn piece-meal by a horse,
 Ere I'll take you for better or worse.
 The Prince of Cambay's daily food
 Is asp, and basilisk, and toad,⁵

¹ See Fontaine, Conte de la jument du compere Pierre. Lord Monboddo had a theory about tails ; he maintained that naturally they were as proper appendages to man as to beasts ; but that the practice of sitting had in process of time completely abraded them.

² That is, rest the cause upon this point.

³ Mr Butler here alludes to Dr Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, p. 410, where, besides the story of the Kentish men near Rochester, who had tails clapped to their breeches by Thomas a Beckett, he gives an account, from an honest young man of Captain Morris's company, in Ireton's regiment, "that at Cashell, in the county of Tipperary, in Carrick Patrick church, seated on a rock, stormed by Lord Inchequin, where near 700 were put to the sword, there were found among the slain of the Irish, when they were stripped, divers that had tails near a quarter of a yard long : forty soldiers, that were eye-witnesses, testified the same upon their oaths." For an account of the Kentish Long-tails, see Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, p. 315, and Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, p. 207.

⁴ *Gentee* is the affected pronunciation of the French *gentil*.

⁵ See Purchas's Pilgrime, vol. ii. p. 1495, for the story of Macamut, Sultan of Cambay, who is said to have lived upon poison, and so complete-

Which makes him have so strong a breath, 755
 Each night he stinks a queen to death ;
 Yet I shall rather lie in's arms
 Than your's, on any other terms.

Quoth he, What nature can afford
 I shall produce, upon my word ; 760

And if she ever gave that boon
 To man, I 'll prove that I have one ;
 I mean, by postulate illation,¹
 When you shall offer just occasion ;
 But since ye've yet denied to give 765

My heart, your pris'ner, a reprieve,
 But make it sink down to my heel,
 Let that at least your pity feel ;
 And for the sufferings of your martyr,
 Give its poor entertainer quarter ; 770
 And by discharge, or mainprise, grant
 Deliv'ry from this base restraint.²

Quoth she, I grieve to see your leg,
 Stuck in a hole here like a peg,
 And if I knew which way to do't, 775
 Your honour safe, I'd let you out.

That dames by jail-delivery
 Of errant knights have been set free,³
 When by enchantment they have been,
 And sometimes for it too, laid in, 780
 Is that which knights are bound to do
 By order, oaths, and honour too ;

ly to have saturated his breath, that contact with him caused the death of 4000 concubines. *Philosoph. Transactions*, lxvi. 314. Montaigne, b. i. *Essay on Customs*. A gross double entendre runs through the whole of the widow's speeches, and likewise through those of the knight. See T. Warton on *English Poetry*, iii. p. 10.

¹ That is, by inference, consequence, or presumptive evidence.

² Grey supposes that the usher, who attended the widow, might be the constable of the place, and that on that account Hudibras begged her to release him ; but it is more probable that she was of sufficient consideration to obtain his liberation, either absolutely, or on bail ; or that she could order her said usher to open the stocks and set him free.

³ These and the following lines are a banter upon romance writers. Our author keeps Don Quixote (Gayton's translation) constantly in his eye, when he is aiming at this object. In Europe, the Spaniards and the French engaged first in this kind of writing : from them it was communicated to the English.

For what are they renown'd and famous else,
 But aiding of distressed damosels ?
 But for a lady, no ways errant,¹ 785
 To free a knight, we have no warrant
 In any authenthical romance,
 Or classic author yet of France ;
 And I'd be loth to have you break
 An ancient custom for a freak, 790
 Or innovation introduce
 In place of things of antique use,
 To free your heels by any course,
 That might b' unwholesome to your spurs :²
 Which if I should consent unto, 795
 It is not in my pow'r to do ;
 For 'tis a service must be done ye
 With solemn previous ceremony ;
 Which always has been us'd t' untie
 The charms of those who here do lie ; 800
 For as the ancients heretofore
 To Honour's temple had no door,
 But that which thorough Virtue's lay ;³
 So from this dungeon there's no way
 To honour's freedom, but by passing 805
 That other virtuous school of lashing,
 Where knights are kept in narrow lists,
 With wooden lockets 'bout their wrists ;⁴
 In which they for awhile are tenants,
 And for their ladies suffer penance : 810
 Whipping, that's virtue's governess,⁵
 Tut'ress of arts and sciences ;
 That mends the gross mistakes of nature,
 And puts new life into dull matter ;

¹ There were damsels-errant as well as knights-errant, in the romances, and the widow disclaims all connection with that order.

² That is, to his honour. The spurs were badges of knighthood, and if a knight was degraded, his spurs were hacked to pieces by a menial.

³ The temple of Virtue and Honour was built by Marius ; the architect was Mutius ; it had no posticum. See Vitruvius, Piranesi, &c.

⁴ This refers to the whipping of petty criminals — humorously styled Knights—in houses of correction.

⁵ A sly glance at the passion for flagellation displayed by the masters of schools.

That lays foundation for renown, 815
 And all the honours of the gown.
 This suffer'd, they are set at large,
 And freed with hon'rab'le discharge ;
 Then, in their robes, the penitentials
 Are straight presented with credentials,¹ 820
 And in their way attended on
 By magistrates of every town ;
 And, all respect and charges paid,
 They're to their ancient seats convey'd.
 Now if you'll venture for my sake, 825
 To try the toughness of your back,
 And suffer, as the rest have done,
 The laying of a whipping on,²
 And may you prosper in your suit,
 As you with equal vigour do't, 830
 I here engage myself to loose ye
 And free your heels from caperdewsie :³
 But since our sex's modesty
 Will not allow I should be by,
 Bring me, on oath, a fair account, 835
 And honour too, when you have done't ;
 And I'll admit you to the place
 You claim as due in my good grace.
 If matrimony and hanging go⁴
 By dest'ny, why not whipping too ? 840
 What med'cine else can cure the fits
 Of lovers, when they lose their wits ?
 Love is a boy by poets styl'd,
 Then spare the rod, and spoil the child :

¹ This alludes to the Acts of Parliament, 33 Eliz. cap. 4, and 1 James I. c. 31, whereby vagrants were ordered to be whipped, and, with a certificate of the fact, conveyed by constables to the place of their settlement.

² A reference to the Amatorial Flagellants of Spain; no other way to move the hearts of their ladies being left them, they borrowed the ascetic's scourge, and used it.

³ From 1674 to 1700, these lines stood :

I here engage to be your bail,
 And free you from th' unknighly jail.

The etymology of caperdewsie, evidently a term for the stocks, is unknown.

⁴ Hanging and wiving go by destiny. Handbook of Proverbs, p. 367.

A Persian emp'ror whipp'd his grannum, 845
 The sea, his mother Venus came on ;¹
 And hence some rev'rend men approve
 Of rosemary in making love.²
 As skilful coopers hoop their tubs
 With Lydian and with Phrygian dubs,³ 850
 Why may not whipping have as good
 A grace, perform'd in time and mood,
 With comely movement, and by art,
 Raise passion in a lady's heart ?
 It is an easier way to make 855
 Love by, than that which many take.
 Who would not rather suffer whipping,
 Than swallow toasts of bits of ribbon ?⁴
 Make wicked verses, treats, and faces,
 And spell names over with beer-glasses ?⁵ 860
 Be under vows to hang and die
 Love's sacrifice, and all a lie ?
 With China-oranges and tarts,
 And whining-plays, lay baits for hearts ?
 Bribe chambermaids with love and money, 865
 To break no roguish jests upon ye ;
 For lilies limn'd on cheeks, and roses,
 With painted perfumes, hazard noses ?⁶

¹ Xerxes whipped the sea, which was the mother of Venus, and Venus was the mother of Cupid; the sea, therefore, was the "grannum," or grandmother, of Cupid, and the object of imperial flagellation, when the winds and the waves were not propitious. See *Juven. Sat. x. 180.*

² As Venus came from the sea the poet supposes some connection with the word rosemary, or *ros maris*, dew of the sea. Rosemary was worn at weddings, and carried at funerals. See chapter on the subject in vol. ii. p. 119—123, Brand's *Pop. Antiquities* (Bohn's edition).

³ Coopers, like blacksmiths, give to their work alternately a heavy stroke and a light one; which our poet humorously compares to the Lydian and Phrygian measures. The former were soft and effeminate, the latter rough and martial.

⁴ One of the follies practised by *Inamoratos*. Grey quotes a tract, printed in 1659, which informs us that French gallants "in their frolics, spare not the ornaments of their madams, who cannot wear a piece of ferret-ribbon, but they will cut it in pieces and swallow it in wine, to celebrate their better fortune."

⁵ Spell them in the number of glasses of beer, as before at ver. 570.

⁶ The plain meaning of the distich is, venture disease for painted and perfumed whores.

Or, vent'ring to be brisk and wanton,
 Do penance in a paper lanthorn?¹ 870
 All this you may compound for now,
 By suff'ring what I offer you;
 Which is no more than has been done
 By knights for ladies long agone.
 Did not the great La Mancha do so 875
 For the Infanta Del Toboso?²
 Did not th' illustrious Bassa make
 Himself a slave for Miss's sake?³
 And with bull's pizzle, for her love,
 Was taw'd as gentle as a glove?⁴ 880
 Was not young Florio sent, to cool
 His flame for Biancafiore, to school,⁵
 Where pedant made his pathic bum⁶
 For her sake suffer martyrdom?
 Did not a certain lady whip, 885
 Of late, her husband's own lordship?⁷

¹ Alluding to an ecclesiastical discipline for such faults as adultery and fornication.

² Meaning the penance which Don Quixote underwent on the mountain for the sake of Dulcinea, Part i. book iii. ch. 2.

³ Ibrahim, the illustrious Bassa, in the romance of Monsieur Seudery. His mistress, Isabella, princess of Monaco, being conveyed away to the Sultan's seraglio, he got into the palace disguised as a slave, and, after a multitude of adventures, became grand vizier.

⁴ To tawe, is a term used by leather-dressers, signifying to soften the leather and make it pliable, by rubbing it. See Wright's Glossary.

⁵ Alluding to an Italian romance, entitled Florio and Biancafiore. The widow here cites some illustrious examples of the three nations, Spanish, French, and Italian, to induce the knight to give himself a scourging, according to the established laws of chivalry. The adventures of Florio and Biancafiore, which make the principal subject of Boccacio's *Filocopo*, were famous long before Boccacio, as he himself informs us. Florio and Blancaster are mentioned as illustrious lovers, by a Languedocian poet, in his *Breviari d' Amor*, dated in the year 1288: it is probable, however, that the story was enlarged by Boccacio. See Tyrwhitt on Chaucer, iv. 169.

⁶ Alluding to the schoolmasters' passion for whipping.

⁷ The person here meant is Lady Munson. Her husband, Lord Munson, of Bury St Edmund's, one of the king's judges, being suspected by his lady of changing his political principles, was by her, with the assistance of her maids, tied naked to the bed-post, and whipped till he promised to behave better. For which useful piece of political zeal she received thanks in open court. Sir William Waller's lady, Mrs May, and

And, tho' a grandee of the house,
 Claw'd him with fundamental blows;¹
 Tied him stark naked to a bed-post,
 And fir'd his hide, as if sh' had rid post; 890
 And after in the sessions' court,
 Where whipping's judg'd, had honour for't?
 This swear you will perform, and then
 I'll set you from th' enchanted den,²
 And the magician's circle, clear. 895
 Quoth he, I do profess and swear,
 And will perform what you enjoin,
 Or may I never see you mine.
 Amen, quoth she, then turn'd about,
 And bid her squire let him out.³ 900
 But ere an artist could be found
 T' undo the charms another bound,
 The sun grew low, and left the skies,
 Put down, some write, by ladies' eyes.⁴
 The moon pull'd off her veil of light, 905
 That hides her face by day from sight.
 Mysterious veil, of brightness made,
 That's both her lustre and her shade,⁵
 And in the lanthorn of the night,
 With shining horns, hung out her light :⁶ 910
 For darkness is the proper sphere⁷
 Where all false glories use t³ appear.

Sir Henry Mildmay's lady, were supposed to have exercised the same authority. See *History of Flagellants*, p. 340, Svo; and *Loyal Songs*, vol. ii. p. 68, and 58.

¹ "Legislative blows," in the two first editions.

² In editions subsequent to 1734, we read :

I'll free you from the enchanted den.

³ So in the corrections at the end of vol. ii. of the second edition in 1664.

⁴ One of the romance writers' extravagant conceits.

⁵ The rays of the sun obscure the moon by day, and enlighten it by night. This passage is extremely beautiful and poetical, showing, among many others, Butler's powers in serious poetry, if he had chosen that path.

⁶ Altered subsequently to—

And in the night as freely shone,
 As if her rays had been her own.

⁷ This and the following line were first inserted in the edition of 1674.

The twinkling stars began to muster,
 And glitter with their borrow'd lustre,
 While sleep the weary'd world reliev'd, 915
 By counterfeiting death reviv'd.
 Our vot'ry thought it best t' adjourn
 His whipping penance till the morn,
 And not to carry on a work
 Of such importance in the dark, 920
 With erring haste, but rather stay,
 And do't i' th' open face of day;
 And in the mean time go in quest
 Of next retreat, to take his rest.¹

¹ The critic will remark how exact our poet is in observing times and seasons; he describes morning and evening; and one day only is passed since the opening of the poem.



PART II. CANTO II.



ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire in hot dispute,
Within an ace of falling out,
Are parted with a sudden fright
Of strange alarm, and stranger sight ;
With which adventuring to stickle,
They're sent away in nasty pickle.

PART II. CANTO II.



IS strange how some men's tempers suit,
 Like bawd and brandy, with dispute,¹
 That for their own opinions stand fast,
 Only to have them claw'd and canvast.
 That keep their consciences in cases,²
 As fiddlers do their crowds and bases,³
 Ne'er to be us'd but when they're bent

5

To play a fit for argument.⁴
 Make true and false, unjust and just,
 Of no use but to be discust;
 Dispute and set a paradox,
 Like a straight boot, upon the stocks,⁵
 And stretch it more unmercifully,
 Than Helmont, Montaigne, White, or Tully.⁶

10

¹ That is, some men love disputing, as a bawd loves brandy.

² A pun, or jeu de mots, on cases of conscience.

³ That is, their fiddles and violoncellos.

⁴ The old phrase was, to play a fit of mirth: the word fit often occurs in ancient ballads and metrical romances: it is generally applied to music, and signifies a division or part, for the convenience of the performers.

⁵ That is, like a tight boot on a boot-tree.

⁶ Van Helmont (the elder) was an eminent physician and naturalist, a warm opposer of the principles of Aristotle and Galen, and an enthusiastic student of chemistry; born at Brussels, in 1588, and died 1664. His son, born in 1618, died 1699, was likewise versed in physic and chemistry, and celebrated for his paradoxes. Michael de Montaigne was born at Perigord, of a good family, 1533, died 1592. He was carefully but fancifully educated by his father, awakened every morning by strains of soft music, taught Latin by conversation, and Greek as an amusement. His *Essays*, however delightful, contain abundance of paradoxes and whimsical reflections. Thomas White (or Albius) was a zealous champion of the Church of Rome and the Aristotelian philosophy, and wrote against Joseph Glanville, who printed in London, 1665, a book entitled, *Scep sis Scientifica*, or, *Confessed Ignorance the Way to Science*. He also wrote in defence of the peculiar notions of Sir Kenelm Digby, and is said to have been fond of dangerous singularities. He died in 1676. For *Tully*, whose character does not answer to the text,

So th' ancient Stoics in the Porch, 15
 With fierce dispute maintain'd their church,
 Beat out their brains in fight and study,
 To prove that virtue is a body;¹
 That *bonum* is an animal,
 Made good with stout polemic brawl; 20
 In which some hundreds on the place
 Were slain outright,² and many a face
 Retrench'd of nose, and eyes, and beard,
 To maintain what their sect averr'd.
 All which the Knight and Squire in wrath, 25
 Had like t' have suffer'd for their faith;
 Each striving to make good his own,
 As by the sequel shall be shown.
 The sun had long since, in the lap³
 Of Thetis, taken out his nap, 30
 And like a lobster boil'd, the morn
 From black to red began to turn;⁴

some late editions read *Lully*; but the former has been retained with the author's corrected edition. If Butler meant Cicero he must allude to his *Stoicorum Paradoxa*, in which, for the exercise of his wit, Cicero defends some of the most extravagant doctrines of the Porch.

¹ The Stoics, who embraced all their doctrines as so many fixed and immutable truths from which it was infamous to depart, allowed of no incorporeal substance, no medium between body and nothing. With them accidents and qualities, virtues and vices, and the passions of the mind, were corporeal.

² We meet with the same account in Butler's *Remains*, vol. ii. 242. "This had been an excellent course for the old round-headed Stoics to find out whether *bonum* was *corpus*, or virtue an animal: about which they had so many fierce encounters in their *Stoa*, that about 1400 lost their lives on the place, and far many more their beards and teeth and noses." Grecian history does not record these brawls; but Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Zeno, book vii. sect. 5, says, that this philosopher read his lectures in the *Stoa* or *Portico*, and hopes the place will be no more violated by civil seditions: for, adds he, when the Thirty Tyrants governed the republic, 1400 citizens were killed there; referring to the judicial murders committed there in 404-3, B. C., on the overthrow of the Athenian constitution.

³ As far as Phœbus first does rise

Until in Thetis' lap he lies.

Sir Arthur Gorges

See also Virgil's *Georgics*, i. 446-7.

⁴ Mr M. Bacon says, this simile is taken from Rabelais, who calls the lobster cardinalized, from the red habit which cardinals wear.

When Hudibras, whom thoughts and aching
 'Twixt sleeping kept all night and waking, 35
 Began to rouse his drowsy eyes,
 And from his couch prepar'd to rise ;
 Resolving to despatch the deed
 He vow'd to do with trusty speed :
 But first, with knocking loud and bawling,
 He rous'd the Squire, in truckle lolling ;¹ 40
 And after many circumstances,
 Which vulgar authors in romances
 Do use to spend their time and wits on,
 To make impertinent description,
 They got, with much ado, to horse, 45
 And to the castle bent their course,
 In which he to the dame before
 To suffer whipping-duty swore :²
 Where now arriv'd, and half unharrest,
 To carry on the work in earnest, 50
 He stopp'd and paus'd upon the sudden,
 And with a serious forehead plodding,³
 Sprung a new scruple in his head,
 Which first he scratch'd, and after said ;
 Whether it be direct infringing 55
 An oath, if I should wave this swingeing,
 And what I've sworn to bear, forbear,
 And so b' equivocation swear ;⁴

¹ See Don Quixote, Part ii. ch. 20. A truckle-bed is a little bed on wheels, which runs under a larger bed.

² In the first edition it is *duly*, but is corrected to *duty* in the Errata to the second edition of 1664.

³ The Knight's "new scruple" is an excellent illustration of the quibbles by which unscrupulous consciences find excuses for violating oaths and promises.

⁴ The equivocations and mental reservations of the Jesuits were loudly complained of, and by none more than by the Sectaries. When these last came into power, the Royalists had too often an opportunity of bringing the same charge against them. Walker observes of the Independents, that they were tenable by no oaths, principles, promises, declarations, nor by any obligations or laws, divine or human. And Sanderson, in his "Obligation of Promissory Oaths," says: "They rest secure, absolving themselves from all guilt and fear of perjury; and think they have excellently provided for themselves and consciences, if, during the act of swearing, they can make any shift to defend themselves, either as the Jesuits do, with some equivocation, or mental reservation; or by forcing upon the words some

Or whether 't be a lesser sin
 To be forsworn, than act the thing, 60
 Are deep and subtle points, which must,
 T' inform my conscience, be discust;
 In which to err a tittle may
 To errors infinite make way:
 And therefore I desire to know 65
 Thy judgment, ere we further go.
 Quoth Ralpho, Since you do injoin't,
 I shall enlarge upon the point;
 And, for my own part, do not doubt
 Th' affirmative may be made out. 70
 But first, to state the case aright,
 For best advantage of our light;
 And thus 'tis, whether 't be a sin,
 To claw and curry our own skin,
 Greater or less than to forbear, 75
 And that you are forsworn forswear.
 But first, o' th' first: The inward man,
 And outward, like a clan and clan,
 Have always been at daggers-drawing,
 And one another clapper-clawing: ¹ 80
 Not that they really cuff or fence,
 But in a spiritual mystic sense;
 Which to mistake, and make them squabble,
 In literal fray's abominable;
 'Tis heathenish, in frequent use, 85
 With Pagans and apostate Jews,
 To offer sacrifice of bridewells,²
 Like modern Indians to their idols;³

subtle interpretation; or after they are sworn, they can find some loophole or artificial evasion; whereby such art may be used with the oath, that, the words remaining, the meaning may be eluded with sophism, and the sense utterly lost."

¹ Alluding to the clans of Scotland, which have sometimes kept up a feud for many generations, and committed violent outrages on each other. The doctrine which the Independents and other sectaries held concerning the natural hostility between the inward and outward man, is frequently alluded to.

² i. e. Whipping, as administered in Bridewell, and similar houses of correction.

³ The similarity of practice in this particular, between the scourging seats of heathen Indians and the flagellants of the Romish Church, is forcibly

And mongrel Christian of our times,
 That expiate less with greater crimes, 90
 And call the foul abomination,
 Contrition and Mortification.
 Is't not enough we're bruise'd and kicked
 With sinful members of the wicked ;
 Our vessels, that are sanctify'd, 95
 Profan'd and curry'd back and side ;
 But we must claw ourselves with shameful
 And heathen stripes, by their example ?
 Which, were there nothing to forbid it,
 Is impious, because they did it : 100
 This therefore may be justly reckon'd
 A heinous sin. Now to the second ;
 That Saints may claim a dispensation
 To swear and forswear on occasion,
 I doubt not but it will appear 105
 With pregnant light : the point is clear.
 Oaths are but words, and words but wind,¹
 Too feeble implements to bind ;
 And hold with deeds proportion, so
 As shadows to a substance do. 110
 Then when they strive for place, 'tis fit
 The weaker vessel should submit.
 Although your church be opposite
 To ours, as Black Friars are to White,
 In rule and order, yet I grant 115
 You are a reformado saint ;²
 And what the saints do claim as due,
 You may pretend a title to :

pointed out ; and, at the same time, a favourite argument of the Puritans, that whatever was Romish was *ipso facto* sinful, is equally well ridiculed.

¹ Such have "lovers' vows" always been represented. The vows of self-chastisement, from which the Knight seeks self-absolution, was a lover's vow. But the general strain of satire is against elastic consciences and easy absolution, whether catholic or sectarian. See Tibullus, Eleg. iv. 17, 18.

² That is, as being a Presbyterian, a quondam saint, not then in the enjoyment of the pay and privileges of sainthood, as the Independents were. Reformadoes were officers degraded from their command, but who retained their rank. (Wright's Dict. *sub voc.*) See Part iii. c. ii. line 91.

But saints, whom oaths or vows oblige,
 Know little of their privilege ; 120
 Further, I mean, than carrying on
 Some self-advantage of their own :
 For if the devil, to serve his turn,
 Can tell truth ; why the saints should scorn,
 When it serves theirs, to swear and lie, 125
 I think there's little reason why :
 Else h' has a greater power than they,
 Which 'twere impiety to say.
 We're not commanded to forbear,
 Indefinitely, at all to swear ; 130
 But to swear idly, and in vain,
 Without self-interest or gain.
 For breaking of an oath and lying,
 Is but a kind of self-denying,
 A saint-like virtue ; and from hence 135
 Some have broke oaths by Providence.¹
 Some, to the glory of the Lord,
 Perjur'd themselves, and broke their word :²
 And this the constant rule and practice
 Of all our late apostles' acts is. 140
 Was not the Cause at first begun
 With perjury, and carried on ?
 Was there an oath the godly took,
 But in due time and place they broke ?³

¹ That is, by the direction of the spirit, which was commonly assumed as an excuse for violating oaths. When it was first moved in the House to proceed capitally against the king, Cromwell stood up and told them : " That if any man moved this with design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world ; but since *Providence* and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray to God to bless their counsels."

² " The rebel army," says South, " in their several treaties with the king, being asked by him whether they would stand to such and such agreements and promises, still answered, that they would do as the spirit should direct them. Whereupon that blessed prince would frequently condole his hard fate, that he had to do with persons to whom the spirit dictated one thing one day, and commanded the clean contrary the next." Harrison, Carew, and others, when tried for the part they took in the king's death, professed they had acted out of conscience to the Lord.

³ The Covenanters, to accommodate their " Large Declaration " to the scruples of the Presbyterians in the matter of Episcopacy, inserted, " That the swearer is neither obliged to the meaning of the prescribed oath nor his

Did we not bring our oaths in first, 145
 Before our plate, to have them burst,
 And cast in fitter models, for
 The present use of church and war ?
 Did not our worthies of the House,
 Before they broke the peace, break vows ? 150
 For having freed us first from both
 Th' Alleg'ance and Suprem'cy oath,¹
 Did they not next compel the nation
 To take, and break the Protestation ?²
 To swear, and after to recant,³ 155
 The Solemn League and Covenant ?⁴
 To take th' Engagement, and disclaim it,⁵
 Enforc'd by those who first did frame it ?

own meaning, but as the authority shall afterwards interpret it." The swearing and unswearing, which Butler satirizes, is one of the numerous parallels between the Great Rebellion and the French Revolution, only in the latter case the oaths were taken to a far more imposing array of Constitutions. Talleyrand's oaths of this sort would have made the boldest Parliamentary swearer seem nought.

¹ Though they did not in formal and express terms abrogate these oaths of allegiance and supremacy till after the king's death, yet in effect they vacated and annulled them, by administering the king's power, and substituting other oaths, protestations, and covenants.

² In the Protestation they promised to defend the true reformed religion, as expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England; which was presently afterwards disclaimed in the Covenant. Ultimately the Covenant itself was altogether renounced by the Independents.

³ And to recant is but to cant again, says Sir Roger L'Estrange.

⁴ In the Solemn League and Covenant (called a *league*, because it was to be a bond of amity and confederation between the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and the *covenant*, because it was in form a covenant with God) they swore to defend the person and authority of the king, and cause the world to behold their fidelity; and that they would not, in the least, diminish his just power and greatness. The Presbyterians, who held by the Covenant so far as it upheld their church, contrived to evade this part of it by saying they had sworn to defend the person and authority of the king in support of religion and public liberty, and not when they were incompatible with each other. But the Independents, who were at last the prevailing party, utterly renounced the Covenant. Copies of the Covenant, subscribed by the Minister and Parishioners, remain in many Parochial Registers, and in some the place for the Minister's name is blank,—he, perhaps, expecting some change, in which it might not be well for him to have signed it.

⁵ After the death of the king a new oath, which they call the Engagement, bound every man to be true and faithful to the government then established, without a king or House of Peers.

Did they not swear, at first, to fight ¹
 For the king's safety and his right? 160
 And after march'd to find him out,
 And charg'd him home with horse and foot?
 And yet still had the confidence
 To swear it was in his defence?
 Did they not swear to live and die 165
 With Essex, and straight laid him by? ²
 If that were all, for some have swore
 As false as they, if th' did no more. ³
 Did they not swear to maintain law,
 In which that swearing made a flaw? 170
 For Protestant religion vow,
 That did that vowing disallow?
 For privilege of Parliament,
 In which that swearing made a rent?
 And since, of all the three, not one ⁴ 175
 Is left in being, 'tis well known.
 Did they not swear, in express words,
 To prop and back the House of Lords?
 And after turn'd out the whole house-full
 Of peers, as dang'rous and unuseful. ⁵ 180
 So Cromwell, with deep oaths and vows,
 Swore all the Commons out o' th' House; ⁶

¹ Cromwell, when he first mustered his troop, sincerely enough perhaps declared that he would not deceive them by perplexed or involved expressions, in his commission, to fight "for the king and Parliament;" and that he would as soon fire his pistol at the king as at any one else.

² When the Parliament first took up arms, and the earl of Essex was chosen general, the members of both Houses declared that they would live and die with him. Yet the chief object of the self-denying ordinance was to remove him from the command.

³ Clarendon says, that many of Essex's friends believed he was poisoned. (Vol. iii. b. 10.)

⁴ Namely, law, religion, and privilege of Parliament.

⁵ When the army began to proceed against the king, in order to keep the Lords quiet, a distinct promise was made to maintain their privileges, &c. But no sooner was the king beheaded, than it was resolved that the House of Peers was useless, and ought to be abolished, which it was accordingly.

⁶ After the king's party was utterly overthrown, Cromwell, who all along it is supposed aimed at the supreme power, persuaded the Parliament to send part of their army into Ireland, and to disband the rest, which the

Vow'd that the red-coats would disband,
 Ay, marry wou'd they, at their command;
 And troll'd them on, and swore and swore, 185
 Till th' army turn'd them out of door.
 This tells us plainly what they thought,
 That oaths and swearing go for nought;¹
 And that by them th' were only meant
 To serve for an expedient.² 190
 What was the Public Faith found out for,³
 But to slur men of what they fought for?
 The Public Faith, which ev'ry one
 Is bound t' observe, yet kept by none;⁴
 And if that go for nothing, why 195
 Should private faith have such a tie?
 Oaths were not purpos'd, more than law,
 To keep the good and just in awe,⁵

Presbyterians in the House were forward to do. And Cromwell, to lull the Parliament, called God to witness, that he was sure the army would, at their command, disband and cast their arms at their feet: and he again solemnly swore, that he had rather himself and his whole family should be consumed, than that the army should break out into sedition. The army, however, did not throw down their arms; but finding that (as they said) all they were to get for these victories was "a piece of paper," and that Parliament intended to make itself perpetual, they marched on London, and in the end, headed by Cromwell, turned the Parliament out of doors.

¹ Sir Roger L'Éstrange has put this into the moral of his Fable (No. 61), "that in a certain place, the people were *only sworn* not to dress meat in Lent, and so might do what they pleased, but," says the speaker, "for us who are *bound* that would be our undoing."

² *Expedient* was a term often used by the sectaries. When the members of the Council of State engaged to approve of what should be done by the Commons in Parliament for the future, it was ordered to draw up an *expedient* for the Members to subscribe.

³ It was usual to pledge the Public Faith, as they called it, by which they meant the credit of Parliament, or their own promises, for monies borrowed, and many times never repaid. Ralph argues that if the public faith be broken with impunity, private faith could not be considered binding.

⁴ "Resolved that the Public Faith be buried in everlasting forgetfulness, and that John Goodwin do preach its funeral sermon from Tothill Fields to Whitechapel;" says Sir John Birkenhead, in his "Paul's Church Yard" (Cent. 3, p. 20).

⁵ The reference is to 1 Timothy i. 9. "Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient." And Colonel Overton averred that the Presbyterians held this literally.

But to confine the bad and sinful,
 Like mortal cattle in a pinfold. 200
 A saint's of th' heav'nly realm a peer;¹
 And as no peer is bound to swear,
 But on the gospel of his honour,
 Of which he may dispose as owner,
 It follows, tho' the thing be forgery 205
 And false th' affirm, it is no perjury,
 But a mere ceremony, and a breach
 Of nothing, but a form of speech,
 And goes for no more when 'tis took
 Than mere saluting of the book.² 210
 Suppose the Scriptures are of force,
 They're but commissions of course,³
 And saints have freedom to digress,
 But vary from 'em as they please;
 Or misinterpret them by private 215
 Instructions, to all aims they drive at.
 Then why should we ourselves abridge,
 And curtail our own privilege?
 Quakers, that like to lanthorns, bear
 Their light within them, will not swear; 220
 Their gospel is an accident,
 By which they construe conscience,⁴
 And hold no sin so deeply red
 As that of breaking Priscian's head,⁵

¹ Butler cleverly puts this two-edged sarcasm into the mouth of one of those who turned out the peers.

² As one in a fable of L'Estrange (pt. 2, fab. 227) says—For the swearing, what signifies the kissing of a book, with a calves' skin cover and a pasteboard stiffening betwixt a man's lips and the text?

³ This is, they strained the interpretation of Scripture to their own purposes, just as the Parliament officers took the liberty of disobeying their commissions, on pretence of private instructions or expediency. "They professed their conscience to be the rule and symbol of their faith," says Clement Walker, "and to this they conform the Scriptures, not their consciences to the Scriptures; setting the sun-dial by the clock, not the clock by the sun-dial."

⁴ The Quakers interpret Scripture literally, and also insist upon correctly using *thou* in the singular number instead of the plural *you*, whence Butler charges them with turning the gospel into an English Grammar, and regarding an ungrammatical conventionality as a great offence.

⁵ Priscian being the acknowledged authority if not the founder of gram-

The head and founder of their order, 225
 That stirring hats held worse than murder ;¹
 These thinking they're oblig'd to troth
 In swearing, will not take an oath ;
 Like mules, who if they've not the will
 To keep their own pace, stand stock still ;² 230
 But they are weak, and little know
 What free-born consciences may do.
 'Tis the temptation of the devil
 That makes all human actions evil :
 For saints may do the same thing by 235
 The spirit, in sincerity,
 Which other men are tempted to,
 And at'the devil's instance do ;
 And yet the actions be contrary,
 Just as the saints and wicked vary. 240
 For as on land there is no beast
 But in some fish at sea's exprest ;³
 So in the wicked there's no vice,
 Of which the saints have not a spice ;
 And yet that thing that's pious in 245
 The one, in th' other is a sin.⁴

mar, it is said to break his head to use false grammar, that is, *you* in the singular number. George Fox, the founder of the order of Quakers, may be regarded as their Priscian. He wrote what may be called an accident, entitled, "A Battle Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Plural and Singular," 1660, folio.

¹ Nash thinks that the poet humorously supposes Priscian, who received so many blows on the head, to be exceedingly averse to taking off his hat ; and therefore calls him the founder of Quakerism.

² A merry fellow, says Bishop Parker, finding all force and proclamations vain for the dispersion of a conventicle, hit upon the stratagem of proclaiming, in the king's name, that none should depart without his leave ; whereupon every one went away that it might not be said they obeyed any man.

³ Thus Dubartas :

So many fishes of so many features,
 That in the waters we may see all creatures,
 Even all that on the earth are to be found,
 As if the world were in deep waters drown'd.

This was one of the whimsical speculations with which the curious entertained themselves before the existence of scientific natural history. See Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors* (Bohn's edit. p. 344).

⁴ The Antinomian principle was that believers or persons regenerate

Is't not ridiculous, and nonsense,
 A saint should be a slave to conscience ?
 That ought to be above such fancies,
 As far as above ordinances ?¹ 250
 She's of the wicked, as I guess,²
 B' her looks, her language, and her dress :
 And tho', like constables, we search
 For false wares one another's church ;
 Yet all of us hold this for true, 255
 No faith is to the wicked due.³
 For truth is precious and divine,
 Too rich a pearl for carnal swine.
 Quoth Hudibras, All this is true,
 Yet 'tis not fit that all men knew 260
 Those mysteries and revelations :⁴
 And therefore topical evasions
 Of subtle turns, and shifts of sense,
 Serve best with th' wicked for pretence ;
 Such as the learned Jesuits use,⁵ 265
 And Presbyterians, for excuse

could not sin, though they committed the same acts which were sins in others ; or, in other words, that the condition of the person determined the character of his acts, and made them good or bad, and not the acts which displayed the character of the man ; so that one not previously wicked could commit no wickedness.

¹ Some sectaries, especially the Seekers and Muggletonians, thought themselves so sure of salvation, that they deemed it needless to conform to ordinances, human or divine.

² Hence it may be concluded that the widow was a royalist.

³ This is the famous popish maxim, *Nulla fides servanda hereticis*, here attributed to the puritan sectaries. Ralph, suspecting the widow to be a royalist, insinuates that it is not necessary to keep faith with her.

⁴ Private or *esoteric* doctrines, which may be called mysterious, mean that what is publicly professed and taught is not what the teachers mean.

⁵ Mr Foulis tells a good story about Jesuitical evasions ; a little before the death of Queen Elizabeth, when the Jesuits were endeavouring to set aside King James, a little book was written, entitled, a *Treatise on Equivocation*, which was afterwards called by Garnet, Provincial of the Jesuits, a *Treatise against Lying and Dissimulation*, which contained the following example. In time of the plague a man goes to Coventry ; at the gates he is examined upon oath whether he came from London : the traveller, though he directly came from thence, may swear positively that he did not, because he knows himself not infected, and does not endanger Coventry ; which he

Against the Protestants, when th' happen
 To find their churches taken napping.
 As thus : a breach of oath is duple,
 And either way admits a scruple, 270
 And may be, *ex parte* of the maker,
 More criminal than the injur'd taker ;
 For he that strains too far a vow,
 Will break it, like an o'er-bent bow :
 And he that made, and fore'd it, broke it, 275
 Not he that for convenience took it.
 A broken oath is, *quatenus* oath,
 As sound t' all purposes of troth,
 As broken laws are ne'er the worse,
 Nay, 'till they're broken, have no force. 280
 What's justice to a man, or laws,
 That never comes within their claws ?
 They have no pow'r, but to admonish ;
 Cannot control, coerce, or punish,
 Until they're broken, and then touch 285
 Those only that do make them such.
 Beside, no engagement is allow'd,
 By men in prison made, for good ;¹
 For when they're set at liberty,
 They're from th' engagement too set free. 290
 The Rabbins write, when any Jew
 Did make to God or man a vow,
 Which afterwards he found untoward,
 And stubborn to be kept, or too hard ;
 Any three other Jews o' th' nation 295
 Might free him from the obligation :²

supposes to answer the final intent of the demand. The MS. was seized by Sir Edward Coke, in Sir Thomas Tresham's chamber, in the Inner Temple, and is now in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, MS. Laud. E. 45, with the attestation in Sir Edward Coke's hand-writing, 5 December, 1605, and the following motto : *Os quod mentitur occidit animam.*

¹ See the history of the Treaty of Newport with Charles I., for ample proof of the employment of this mode of reasoning.

² There is a traditional doctrine among the Jews, which *Maimonides* asserts to have come down from Moses, though not in the written law, that if any person has made a vow, which he afterwards wishes to recall, he may go to a Rabbi, or three other men, and if he can prove to them that no injury will be sustained by any one, they may free him from its obligation.

And have not two saints power to use
 A greater privilege than three Jews ?¹
 The court of conscience, which in man
 Should be supreme and sovereign, 300
 Is't fit should be subordinate
 To ev'ry petty court i' th' state,
 And have less power than the lesser,
 To deal with perjury at pleasure ?
 Have its proceedings disallow'd, or 305
 Allow'd, at fancy of Pie-powder ?²
 Tell all it does, or does not know,
 For swearing *ex officio* ?³
 Be forc'd t' impeach a broken hedge,
 And pigs unring'd at *vis. franc.* pledge ?⁴ 310
 Discover thieves, and bawds, recusants,
 Priests, witches, eves-droppers, and nuisance :
 Tell who did play at games unlawful,
 And who fill'd pots of ale but half-full ;
 And have no pow'r at all, nor shift, 315
 To help itself at a dead lift ?

¹ Butler told one Mr Veal, that by the two saints he meant Dr Downing and Mr Marshall, who, when some of the rebels had their lives spared on condition that they would not in future bear arms against the king, were sent to dispense with the oath, and persuade them to enter again into the service.

² The court of *pie-powder* takes cognizance of such disputes as arise in fairs and markets; and is so called from the old French word *pied-puldreaux*, which signifies a pedlar, one who gets a livelihood without a fixed or certain residence. See Blackstone's Commentaries. In the borough laws of Scotland, an alien merchant is called *pied-puldreaux*.

³ That is, by taking the *ex officio* oath; by which the parties were obliged to answer to interrogatories, even if they criminated themselves. In the conference, 1604, one of the matters complained of was the *ex officio* oath. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Archbishop Whitgift defended the oath, and the king gave a description of it, laid down the grounds upon which it stood, and justified the wisdom of the constitution.

⁴ Frankpledge was an institution derived from the earliest Saxon times, and based upon the principle of mutual responsibility. By it Lords of the manor had the right of requiring surety of every free-born man of the age of 14, for his good behaviour, and they were bound for each other. After the Conquest, where frankpledge prevailed, there were periodical meetings, when it was put in exercise, and these were called the View of frankpledge (*visus franciplegii*). Selden says, that the View of frankpledge was not wholly unknown in his time; which shows the point of Butler's allusion to it. See Blackstone and the Law Dictionaries.

Why should not conscience have vacation
 As well as other courts o' th' nation?
 Have equal power to adjourn,
 Appoint appearance and return? 320
 And make as nice distinctions serve
 To split a case; as those that carve,
 Invoking cuckolds' names, hit joints?¹
 Why should not tricks as slight, do points?
 Is not th' High Court of Justice sworn 325
 To just that law that serves their turn?²
 Make their own jealousies high treason,
 And fix them whomso'er they please on?
 Cannot the learned counsel there
 Make laws in any shape appear? 330
 Mould 'em as witches do their clay,
 When they make pictures to destroy?³
 And vex them into any form
 That fits their purpose to do harm?
 Rack them until they do confess,⁴ 335
 Impeach of treason whom they please,

¹ Our ancestors, when they found a difficulty in carving a goose, hare, or other dish, used to say in jest, that they should hit the joint if they could think of the name of a cuckold. Kyrle, the man of Ross, had always company to dine with him on market day, and a goose, if it could be procured, was one of the dishes, which he claimed the privilege of carving himself. When any guest, ignorant of the etiquette of the table, offered to save him that trouble, he would exclaim, "Hold your hand, man, if I am good for anything, it is for hitting cuckolds' joints." The British Apollo (vol. ii. No. 59, 1708) explains the origin of this saying, to be "the equal celebrity of one Thomas Webb, carver to the Lord Mayor, in the days of Charles I., both in his office, and as a cuckold."

² The High Court of Justice was first instituted for the trial of King Charles I., but its authority was afterwards extended in regard to some of his adherents, to the year 1658. As it had no statute or precedents, its determinations were based solely on what best served the turn. Walker says, "should they vote a turd to be a rose, or Oliver's nose a ruby, they expect we should swear it and fight for it: this legislative den of thieves create new courts of justice, neither founded upon law nor prescription."

³ It was supposed that witches, by forming the image of any one in wax or clay, and sticking pins into it, or putting it to other torture, could cause the death of the person represented. Dr Dee records several such supposed enchantments.

⁴ It was one of the charges against the Parliament, that they had allowed the adherents of the king to be put to the rack in Ireland. The

And most perfidiously condemn
 Those that engag'd their lives for them ?¹
 And yet do nothing in their own sense
 But what they ought by oath and conscience. 340
 Can they not juggle, and with slight
 Conveyance play with wrong and right ;
 And sell their blasts of wind as dear,²
 As Lapland witches bottled air ?³
 Will not fear, favour, bribe, and grudge, 345
 The same case sev'ral ways adjudge ?
 As seamen, with the self-same gale,
 Will sev'ral different courses sail ;
 As when the sea breaks o'er its bounds,⁴
 And overflows the level grounds, 350
 Those banks and dams, that, like a screen,
 Did keep it out, now keep it in ;
 So when tyrannical usurpation⁵
 Invades the freedom of a nation,
 The laws o' th' land that were intended 355
 To keep it out, are made defend it.
 Does not in Chanc'ry ev'ry man swear
 What makes best for him in his answer ?⁶

soldiers were said to have used torture to gentlemen's servants in order to extort information concerning their masters' property.

¹ This they did in many instances ; the most remarkable were those of Sir John Hotham and his son, who were condemned notwithstanding that they had previously shut the gates of Hull against the King, and the case of Sir Alexander Carew.

² That is, their breath, their pleading, their arguments.

³ The witches in Lapland pretended to sell bags of wind to the sailors, which would carry them to whatever quarter they pleased. See Olaus Magnus.

⁴ This simile may be found in prose in Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 298 : "For as when the sea breaks over its bounds and overflows the land, those dams and banks that were made to keep it out do afterwards serve to keep it in ; so when tyranny and usurpation break in upon the common right and freedom, the laws of God and of the land are abused, to support that which they were intended to oppose."

⁵ *Var.* "Tyrannick usurpation," after 1700.

⁶ A hit at the common forms of Chancery practice. But Grey thinks the poet has in mind the joke propagated by Sir Roger L'Estrange, Fable 61. "A gentleman that had a suit in Chancery was called upon by his counsel to put in his answer, for fear of incurring a contempt. Well, says the Cavalier, and why is not my answer put in then ? How should I draw your

Is not the winding up witnesses,¹
 And nicking, more than half the bus'ness? 360
 For witnesses, like watches, go
 Just as they're set, too fast or slow;
 And where in conscience they're strait-lac'd,
 'Tis ten to one that side is cast.
 Do not your juries give their verdict 365
 As if they felt the cause, not heard it?
 And as they please make matter o' fact
 Run all on one side as they're packt?
 Nature has made man's breast no windores,
 To publish what he does within-doors; 370
 Nor what dark secrets there inhabit,
 Unless his own rash folly blab it.
 If oaths can do a man no good
 In his own bus'ness, why they shou'd
 In other matters do him hurt, 375
 I think there's little reason for't.
 He that imposes an oath makes it,²
 Not he that for convenience takes it:
 Then how can any man be said
 To break an oath he never made? 380
 These reasons may perhaps look oddly
 To th' wicked, tho' they evince the godly;
 But if they will not serve to clear
 My honour, I am ne'er the near.
 Honour is like that glassy bubble, 385
 That finds philosophers such trouble;
 Whose least part crack'd, the whole does fly,
 And wits are crack'd to find out why.³

answer, saith the Lawyer, without knowing what you can swear? Pox on your scruples, says the client again, pray do your part of a lawyer and draw me a sufficient answer; and let me alone to do the part of a gentleman, and swear it."

¹ These lines, thanks to the "vitality" of English law, are as severely satirical now as they were two hundred years ago.

² This and the following are two of the best remembered and oftenest quoted lines of Hudibras. See line 275, above, where the same thought is expressed.

³ This glassy bubble is the well-known Prince Rupert's drop, so called because the prince first introduced the knowledge of it to this country. It is of common glass, in size and shape like the accompanying figure; and

Quoth Ralph, Honour's but a word
 To swear by only in a lord :¹ 390
 In other men 'tis but a huff
 To vapour with, instead of proof ;
 That like a wen looks big and swells,
 Is senseless, and just nothing else.²
 Let it, quoth he, be what it will, 395
 It has the world's opinion still.
 But as men are not wise, that run
 The slightest hazard they may shun ;
 There may a medium be found out
 To clear to all the world the doubt ; 400
 And that is, if a man may do't,
 By proxy whipp'd, or substitute.³
 Though nice and dark the point appear,
 Quoth Ralph, it may hold up and clear.
 That sinners may supply the place 405
 Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
 Justice gives sentence, many times,
 On one man for another's crimes.

its peculiar properties are, that it will sustain without injury very heavy blows upon the body, D, E; but if broken at B, or C, the whole drop will burst into powder with great violence. If the tip, A, be broken off, the



bubble will not burst. They are described in Beekmann's History of Inventions (Bohn's Edit. vol. ii. p. 241, &c.). The cause of their peculiarities rendered them a great puzzle to the curious.

¹ Peers, when they give judgment, are not sworn : they say only, upon my honour. See lines 262, 263, above.

² Ralph was much of Falstaff's opinion with regard to honour. See Henry IV. Part I. Act v. sc. 1.

³ We are told in the Tatler, No. 92, "that pages are chastised for the admonition of princes." See an account of Mr Murray of the bed-chamber, who was whipping-boy to King Charles I., in Burnet's Own Times (Bohn's edit. p. 99). Henry IV. of France, when absolved of his excommunication and heresy by Pope Clement VIII., received chastisement in the persons of his representatives, Messrs D'Ossat and Du Perron, afterwards Cardinals.

Our brethren of New England use
 Choice malefactors to excuse,¹ 410
 And hang the guiltless in their stead,
 Of whom the churches have less need.
 As lately 't happen'd: in a town
 There liv'd a cobbler, and but one,
 That out of doctrine could cut use, 415
 And mend men's lives as well as shoes.
 This precious brother having slain,
 In times of peace, an Indian,
 Not out of malice, but mere zeal,²
 Because he was an infidel, 420
 The mighty Tottipottimoy³
 Sent to our elders an envoy,
 Complaining sorely of the breach
 Of league, held forth by brother Patch,
 Against the articles in force 425
 Between both churches, his and ours;
 For which he crav'd the saints to render
 Into his hands, or hang th' offender:
 But they maturely having weigh'd
 They had no more but him o' th' trade; 430
 A man that serv'd them in a double
 Capacity, to teach and cobble;
 Resolv'd to spare him: yet to do
 The Indian Hohan Moghan too

¹ This story is asserted to be true, in the note subjoined to the early editions. A similar one is related by Grey, from Morton's *English Canaan*, printed 1637. A lusty young fellow was condemned to be hanged for stealing corn; but it was formally proposed in council to execute a bed-ridden old man in the offender's clothes, which would satisfy appearances, and preserve a useful member to society. Grey mentions likewise a letter from the committee of Stafford to Speaker Lenthall, dated Aug. 5, 1645, desiring a respite for Henry Steward, a soldier under the governor of Hartlebury Castle, and offering two Irishmen to be executed in his stead. Ralpho calls them his brethren of New England, because the inhabitants there were generally Independents.

² Just so, says Grey, Ap Evans acted, who murdered his mother and his brother for kneeling at the Sacrament, alleging that this was idolatry.

³ This is not a real name, but merely a ludicrous imitation of the sonorous appellations of the Indian Sachems; as is the other name in line 434, below.

Impartial justice, in his stead did 435
 Hang an old weaver that was bed-rid :
 Then wherefore may not you be skipp'd,
 And in your room another whipp'd ?
 For all philosophers, but the Sceptic,¹
 Hold whipping may be sympathetic. 440

It is enough, quoth Hudibras,
 Thou hast resolv'd, and clear'd the case ;
 And canst, in conscience, not refuse,
 From thy own doctrine, to raise use :²
 I know thou wilt not, for my sake, 445
 Be tender-conscienc'd of thy back :
 Then strip thee of thy carnal jerkin,
 And give thy outward fellow a firking ;
 For when thy vessel is new hoop'd,
 All leaks of sinning will be stopp'd. 450

Quoth Ralpho, You mistake the matter,
 For in all scruples of this nature,
 No man includes himself, nor turns
 The point upon his own concerns.
 As no man of his own self catches 455
 The itch, or amorous French achès ;³
 So no man does himself convince,
 By his own doctrine, of his sins :
 And though all cry down self, none means
 His own self in a literal sense : 460
 Besides, it is not only foppish,
 But vile, idolatrous, and popish,
 For one man out of his own skin
 To firk and whip another's sin ;⁴

¹ The Sceptics, who held that certainty was not attainable on any subject, and doubted sensation altogether, are here wittily satirized as refusing to assent to Ralpho's doctrine of sympathetic whipping. The philosophers who believed in it were Sir Kenelm Digby, often the theme of Butler's banter, and some then credulous members of the Royal Society.

² A favourite expression of the sectaries of those days.

³ The old pronunciation of this word was *aitches*, and the late John Kemble to the day of his death insisted on so pronouncing it ; for which he was frequently ridiculed.

⁴ A banter on the popish doctrine of satisfaction and supererogation.

As pedants out of school-boys' breeches 465
 Do claw and curry their own itches.¹
 But in this case it is profane,
 And sinful too, because in vain ;
 For we must take our oaths upon it
 You did the deed, when I have done it. 470
 Quoth Hudibras, That's answer'd soon ;
 Give us the whip, we'll lay it on.
 Quoth Ralpho, That you may swear true,
 'Twere properer that I whipp'd you ;
 For when with your consent 'tis done, 475
 The act is really your own.
 Quoth Hudibras, It is in vain,
 I see, to argue 'gainst the grain ;
 Or, like the stars, incline men to
 What they're averse themselves to do : 480
 For when disputes are weary'd out,
 'Tis interest still resolves the doubt :
 But since no reason can confute ye,
 I'll try to force you to your duty ;
 For so it is, howe'er you mince it ; 485
 As, ere we part, I shall evince it,
 And curry, if you stand out, whether²
 You will or no, your stubborn leather.
 Canst thou refuse to bear thy part
 I' th' public work, base as thou art ? 490
 To higgle thus, for a few blows,³
 To gain thy Knight an op'lent spouse,
 Whose wealth his bowels yearn to purchase,
 Merely for th' int'rest of the churches ?
 And when he has it in his claws, 495
 Will not be hide-bound to the Cause ;

¹ In Spectator, No. 157, are to be found remarks illustrative of this peculiarity of pedagogues.

² Grey observes that a contest between Don Quixote and his renowned squire appears to have furnished the pattern for this amusing falling out (see chaps. 35 and 60). But there is more intellectual subtlety in the argumentation of Butler's heroes than in the Don and Sancho.

³ See Don Quixote, chap. 68, for the like reproaches administered by the knight to his squire.

Nor shalt thou find him a curmudgin,¹
 If thou dispatch it without grudging :
 If not, resolve, before we go,
 That you and I must pull a crow.² 500

Ye 'ad best, quoth Ralpho, as the ancients³
 Say wisely, have a care o' th' main chance,
 And look before you, ere you leap ;
 For as you sow y' are like to reap :
 And were y' as good as George-a-green,⁴ 505

I should make bold to turn agen ;
 Nor am I doubtful of the issue
 In a just quarrel, as mine is so.
 Is 't fitting for a man of honour
 To whip the saints, like Bishop Bonner ?⁵ 510

A knight t' usurp the beadle's office,
 For which y' are like to raise brave trophies ?
 But I advise you, not for fear,
 But for your own sake, to forbear ;
 And for the churches, which may chance 515

From hence, to spring a variance,
 And raise among themselves new scruples,
 Whom common danger hardly couples,
 Remember how in arms and politics,
 We still have worsted all your holy tricks ;⁶ 520

¹ A niggardly churl. The derivation from *cœur méchant*, obtained by Dr Johnson from an "unknown correspondent," and Ash's mistake in assuming this signature to be a translation of the French words, is one of the best etymological jokes extant.

² See Handbook of Proverbs, p. 155.

³ Ralpho, like Sancho, deals largely in proverbs ;—these are found and explained in Handbook of Proverbs, pp. 113, 323.

⁴ This is no other than the Pinder of Wakefield, who fought and beat Robin Hood, Scarlet, and Little John, all three together. See Robin Hood's Garland. The Pinder was no outlaw, as Nash supposes, but an officer to enforce the law, being the keeper of the parish pound.

⁵ Bishop of London in the reign of Queen Mary, who is said to have whipped the Protestants, imprisoned on account of their faith, with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise. Hume's History of Mary, p. 378 ; Fox, Acts and Monuments, ed. 1576, p. 1937.

⁶ The Independents, by their dexterity in intrigue and getting the army on their side, outwitted and overpowered the Presbyterians, who intended simply to instal themselves in the place of the Church of England. These lines record, for the most part, plain and well-known historical facts. See Burnet and others.

Trepann'd your party with intrigue,
 And took your grandees down a peg ;
 New-modell'd the army, and cashier'd
 All that to Legion Smec adher'd ;¹
 Made a mere utensil o' your church, 525
 And after left it in the lurch ;
 A scaffold to build up our own,
 And when w' had done with 't, pull'd it down ;
 Capoch'd² your rabbins of the Synod,³
 And snapp'd their canons with a why-not. 530
 Grave synod-men, that were rever'd
 For solid face, and depth of beard,
 Their Classic model prov'd a maggot,
 Their Direct'ry an Indian pagod ;⁴
 And drown'd their discipline like a kitten, 535
 On which they 'd been so long a sitting ;⁵
 Decry'd it as a holy cheat,
 Grown out of date, and obsolete,
 And all the saints of the first grass,⁶
 As castling foals of Balaam's ass. 540
 At this the Knight grew high in chafe,
 And staring furiously on Ralph,
 He trembled, and look'd pale with ire,⁷
 Like ashes first, then red as fire.

¹ See above, p. 124, for an explanation of the term Smectymnuus. The majority originally in favour of Presbyterianism, which was overthrown by the Independents, is ridiculed under the name of Legion.

² So in the first editions, afterwards altered by Butler to *O'er-reach'd*, and again restored. *Capoch'd* means hood-winked. Why-not is a fanciful term used in Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 178 ; and signifies the obliging a man to yield his assent.

³ These were the Assembly of Divines, whose work was almost all undone by the supremacy of the Independents.

⁴ The Directory was a book drawn up by the Assembly of Divines (120 Divines and 30 Laymen) and published by authority of Parliament, containing instructions to their ministers for the regulation of public worship. It became a mere curiosity when the Independents set up freedom of worship.

⁵ That is, from July 1, 1643, their first meeting, to August 28, 1648, when their *discipline* by classes was established. The Divines of the Assembly being paid by the day, are presumed to have had an interest in prolonging their work.

⁶ The Presbyterians, the first sectaries that sprang up and opposed the established church.

⁷ These two lines are not in the first editions ; but were added in 1674.

Have I, quoth he, been ta'en in fight, 545
 And for so many moons lain by 't,
 And when all other means did fail,
 Have been exchang'd for tubs of ale ?¹
 Not but they thought me worth a ransom
 Much more consid'able and handsome ; 550
 But for their own sakes, and for fear
 They were not safe, when I was there ;
 Now to be baffled by a scoundrel,
 An upstart sect'ry, and a mungrel,²
 Such as breed out of peccant humours 555
 Of our own church, like wens or tumours,
 And like a maggot in a sore,
 Wou'd that which gave it life devour ;
 It never shall be done or said :
 With that he seiz'd upon his blade ;³ 560
 And Ralpho too, as quick and bold,
 Upon his basket-hilt laid hold,
 With equal readiness prepar'd,
 To draw and stand upon his guard.
 When both were parted on the sudden, 565
 With hideous clamour, and a loud one,
 As if all sorts of noise had been
 Contracted into one loud din ;
 Or that some Member to be chosen,
 Had got the odds above a thousand ; 570
 And, by the greatness of his noise,
 Prov'd fittest for his country's choice.

¹ A contemporary note on these lines quoted by Grey, says, "The Knight was kept prisoner in Exeter, and after several changes proposed, but none accepted, was at last released for a barrel of ale, as he used upon all occasions to declare." This identifies Hudibras with a living original, assumed to be Sir Samuel Luke.

² Thus Don Quixote to Sancho : "How now, opprobrious rascal ! stinking garlic-eater ! sirrah, I will take you and tie your dogship to a tree, as naked as your mother bore you." See note on lines 187, &c.

³ Grey compares this scene to the contest between Brutus and Cassius, in Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, Act iv. History relates that the quarrel between the Presbyterians and the Independents proceeded beyond the mere clapping of hand to sword. And Cromwell's victories, all of which were summed up in Dunbar fight, were the proof of what Ralpho's "basket-hilt" could do in such a case.

This strange surprisal put the Knight
 And wrathful Squire into a fright ;
 And tho' they stood prepar'd, with fatal 575
 Impetuous rancour, to join battle,
 Both thought it was the wisest course
 To wave the fight, and mount to horse ;
 And to secure, by swift retreating,
 Themselves from danger of worse beating ; 580
 Yet neither of them would disparage,
 By utt'ring of his mind, his courage,
 Which made them stoutly keep their ground,
 With horror and disdain wind-bound.
 And now the cause of all their fear¹ 585
 By slow degrees approach'd so near,
 They might distinguish different noise²
 Of horns, and pans, and dogs, and boys,
 And kettle-drums, whose sullen dub
 Sounds like the hooping of a tub : 590
 But when the sight appear'd in view,
 They found it was an antique show ;
 A triumph, that for pomp and state,
 Did proudest Romans emulate :³
 For as the aldermen of Rome 595
 Their foes at training overcome,
 And not enlarging territory,
 As some, mistaken, write in story,⁴

¹ The poet does not suffer his heroes to proceed to open violence ; but ingeniously puts an end to the dispute, by introducing them to a new adventure. The drollery of the following scene is inimitable.

² *Var.* "They might discern respective noise," in editions of 1664.

³ The Skimmington, a ludicrous cavalcade in derision of a husband's submitting to be beaten by his wife. It consisted generally of a man riding behind a woman, with his face to the horse's rump, holding a distaff in his hand, the woman all the while belabouring him with a ladle. The learned reader will be amused by comparing this description with the pompous account of Æmilius's triumph, as described by Plutarch, and the satirical one given by Juvenal in his tenth Satire. The details of the Skimmington are so accurately described by the poet, that he must have derived them from actual observation. See a full account of it in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 180 (Bohn's edition).

⁴ Our poet mixes up together the ceremonies of enlarging the Pomcerium, a Roman triumph, a lord mayor's show, the exercising of the train-bands, and a borough election, in the most wanton spirit of burlesque poetry.

Being mounted in their best array,
 Upon a car, and who but they? 600
 And follow'd with a world of tall lads,
 That merry ditties troll'd, and ballads,¹
 Did ride with many a good-morrow,
 Crying, Hey for our town, thro' the borough;
 So when this triumph drew so nigh, 605
 They might particulars descry,
 They never saw two things so pat,
 In all respects, as this and that.
 First he that led the cavalcate,²
 Wore a sow-gelder's flagellate, 610
 On which he blew as strong a levet,³
 As well-feed lawyer on his brev'ate,
 When over one another's heads
 They charge, three ranks at once, like Sweads:⁴
 Next pans and kettles of all keys, 615
 From trebles down to double base;
 And after them upon a nag,
 That might pass for a fore-hand stag,
 A cornet rode, and on his staff,
 A smock display'd did proudly wave. 620
 Then bagpipes of the loudest drones,
 With snuffling broken-winded tones;
 Whose blasts of air in pockets shut,
 Sound filthier than from the gut,
 And make a viler noise than swine 625
 In windy weather, when they whine.

¹ The vulgar, and the soldiers themselves, had at triumphal processions the liberty of abusing their general. Their invectives were commonly conveyed in metre. See Suetonius, Life of Julius Cæsar, p. 33 (Bohn's edition).

² The words at the end of this and the next line were altered subsequently into *cavalcade* and *flagellet*, to the marring of the rhyme.

³ Levet is a blast on the trumpet, a reveillé, which used to be sounded morning and evening on shipboard.

⁴ This and the preceding line were added in 1674. Butler has departed from the common method of spelling the word Swedes for the sake of rhyme: in the edition of 1689, after his death, it was printed Sweeds. The Swedes appear to have been the first who practised firing by two or three ranks at a time, over each others' heads: see Sir Robert Monro's Memoirs, and Bariff's Young Artillery-man. The Swedes, under Gustavus Adolphus, were the most famous soldiers of Europe.

Next one upon a pair of panniers,
 Full fraught with that which, for good manners,
 Shall here be nameless, mix'd with grains,
 Which he dispens'd among the swains, 630
 And busily upon the crowd
 At random round about bestow'd.
 Then mounted on a horned horse,
 One bore a gauntlet and gilt spurs,
 Ty'd to the pommel of a long sword 635
 He held revers'd, the point turn'd downward.
 Next after, on a raw-bon'd steed,
 The conqueror's standard-bearer rid,
 And bore aloft before the champion
 A petticoat display'd, and rampant ;¹ 640
 Near whom the Amazon triumphant,
 Bestrid her beast, and on the rump on't
 Sat face to tail, and bum to bum,
 The warrior whilom overcome ;
 Arm'd with a spindle and a distaff, 645
 Which, as he rode, she made him twist off ;
 And when he loiter'd, o'er her shoulder
 Chastised the reformado soldier.²
 Before the dame, and round about,
 March'd whiffers, and staffiers on foot,³ 650
 With lackies, grooms, valets, and pages,
 In fit and proper equipages ;
 Of whom some torches bore, some links,
 Before the proud virago-minx,
 That was both madam and a don,⁴ 655
 Like Nero's Sporus,⁵ or Pope Joan ;

¹ Ridiculing the terms in which heralds blazon coats of arms.

² See note on line 116, above.

³ "A mighty whiffler 'fore the king seems to prepare his way." Henry V., Act v., chorus. There were whiffers formerly amongst the inferior officers of the corporation at Norwich. Their duty in recent times (before the date of the Municipal Reform Act) was to clear the way before his Worship, as he went to church on Guild-day ; which they did by running and bounding about, whirling all the time with incredible agility a huge, blunt, two-handed sword. The whiffers who now attend the London companies in processions are standard-bearers and freemen carrying staves. Staffier is a staff-bearer, or running footman, from the French *Estafier*.

⁴ Mistress and master.

⁵ See Suetonius' Life of Nero, for the particulars of his marriage with

And at fit periods the whole rout
 Set up their throats with clam'rous shout!
 The Knight transported, and the Squire,
 Put up their weapons and their ire ; 660
 And Hudibras, who us'd to ponder
 On such sights with judicious wonder,
 Could hold no longer, to impart
 His an'madversions, for his heart.
 Quoth he, In all my life till now, 665
 I ne'er saw so profane a show ;¹
 It is a paganish invention,
 Which heathen writers often mention :
 And he, who made it, had read Goodwin,²
 Or Ross, or Cælius Rhodogine,³ 670
 With all the Grecian Speeds and Stows,⁴
 That best describe those ancient shows ;
 And has observ'd all fit decorums
 We find describ'd by old historians :⁵

sporus after he had been gelded (Bohn's transl. p. 357). The story of Pope Joan is too well known to need repetition. But see notes on the subject in Gibbon (Bohn's edition), vol. v. p. 420.

¹ The Knight's learning leads him to see in this burlesque procession nothing but paganism, which he, as a reformer, is bound to put an end to at once.

² Thomas Goodwin was a high Calvinistic Independent, who, dissatisfied with the terms of nonconformity in England, became for some years Pastor of an Independent congregation at Arnheim in Holland. On his return to England he was elected one of the Assembly of Divines, and in 1649, president of Magdalen College, Oxford. At the Restoration he was ejected, and died in 1679. It is however probable that Butler means Dr Thomas Godwyn, who wrote a celebrated manual of Hebrew Antiquities entitled "Moses and Aaron," Oxford, 1616, and another on Roman Antiquities, published Oxford, 1613, both of which went through many editions.

³ In the edition of 1674, altered to,

I warrant him, and understood him.

But the older line was restored in 1704. The name of Ross has occurred more than once before. Ludovicus Cælius Rhodoginus (L. C. Ricchieri) was born at Rovigo, about 1460 ; and published a voluminous and learned miscellany called *Lectiones Antiquæ*, of which one of the editions was printed by Aldus in 1516. He died in 1525.

⁴ Speed and Stowe are celebrated English chroniclers. By Grecian Speeds and Stows he means, any ancient authors who have explained the antiquities and customs of Greece.

⁵ This is an imperfect rhyme, but in English, to an ear not critically acute, *m* and *n* sound alike. So the old sayings, among the common people taken for rhyme,—A stitch in time saves nine. Tread on a worm, and it will turn.

For, as the Roman conqueror, 675
 That put an end to foreign war,
 Ent'ring the town in triumph for it,
 Bore a slave with him in his chariot ;¹
 So this insulting female brave
 Carries behind her here a slave : 680
 And as the ancients long ago,
 When they in field defy'd the foe,
 Hung out their mantles *della guerre*,²
 So her proud standard-bearer here,
 Waves on his spear, in dreadful manner, 685
 A Tyrian petticoat for banner.³
 Next links and torches, heretofore
 Still borne before the emperor :
 And, as in antique triumphs, eggs
 Were borne for mystical intrigues ;⁴ 690
 There's one with truncheon, like a ladle,
 That carries eggs too, fresh or adle :
 And still at random, as he goes,
 Among the rabble-rout bestows.
 Quoth Ralpho, You mistake the matter ; 695
 For all th' antiquity you smatter
 Is but a riding, us'd of course
 When the grey mare's the better horse ;⁵
 When o'er the breeches greedy women
 Fight, to extend their vast dominion, 700
 And in the cause impatient Grizel
 Has drubb'd her husband with bull's pizzle,
 And brought him under *covert-baron*,⁶
 To turn her vassal with a murrain ;

¹ See Juv. Sat. x. 42 (Bohn's transl., pp. 105 and 443).

² The red flag ; which has always been taken as a menace of battle à l'outrance.

³ A scarlet petticoat, then worn so commonly. Butler has in mind the ancient poets, who are loud in their praise of Tyrian vestments, especially Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius.

⁴ In the orgies of Bacchus, and the games of Ceres, eggs were carried, and had a mystical import. In the edition of 1689, and some others, antique is spelt "antick," and perhaps was intended to signify "mimic," as well as "ancient," which is the more probable, as eggs were never used on real triumphs.

⁵ Handbook of Proverbs, p. 170.

⁶ The wife is said in law to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her lord and baron.

When wives their sexes shift, like hares,¹ 705
 And ride their husbands like night-mares ;
 And they, in mortal battle vanquish'd,
 Are of their charter disenfranchis'd,
 And by the right of war, like gills,²
 Condemn'd to distaff, horns, and wheels :³ 710
 For when men by their wives are cow'd,
 Their horns of course are understood.

Quoth Hudibras, Thou still giv'st sentence
 Impertinently, and against sense :
 'Tis not the least disparagement 715
 To be defeated by th' event,
 Nor to be beaten by main force ;
 That does not make a man the worse,
 Altho' his shoulders, with battoon,
 Be claw'd, and cudgell'd to some tune ; 720
 A tailor's 'prentice has no hard
 Measure, that's bang'd with a true yard ;
 But to turn tail, or run away,
 And without blows give up the day ;
 Or to surrender ere the assault, 725
 That's no man's fortune, but his fault ;
 And renders men of honour less
 Than all th' adversity of success ;
 And only unto such this show
 Of horns and petticoats is due. 730
 There is a lesser profanation,
 Like that the Romans call'd ovation :⁴

¹ Many have been the vulgar errors concerning the sexes of hares, some of the elder naturalists pretending that they changed them annually, others that hares were hermaphrodite. See Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, b. iii. c. 17. But our poet here chiefly means to ridicule Dr Bulwer's *Artificial Changeling*, p. 407, who cites the female patriarch of Greece, and Pope Joan of Rome.

² Gill, in the Scotch and Irish dialect, a girl; in Wright's *Glossary* one of the significations is, "a wanton wench;" and so Ben Jonson, in his *Gipsies Metamorphos'd*, uses it, "Give you all your fill,—each Jack with his Gill."

³ "Wheels" here are spinning wheels; and not those of timber-gills or drays.

⁴ At the greater triumph the Romans sacrificed an ox; at the lesser a sheep. Hence the name ovation.

For as ovation was allow'd
 For conquest purchas'd without blood ;
 So men decree those lesser shows 735
 For vict'ry gotten without blows,
 By dint of sharp hard words, which some
 Give battle with, and overcome ;
 These mounted in a chair-curule,
 Which moderns call a cucking-stool,¹ 740
 March proudly to the river's side,
 And o'er the waves in triumph ride ;
 Like dukes of Venice, who are said
 The Adriatic sea to wed ;²
 And have a gentler wife than those 745
 For whom the state decrees those shows.
 But both are heathenish, and come
 From th' whores of Babylon and Rome,
 And by the saints should be withstood,
 As antichristian and lewd ; 750
 And we, as such, should now contribute
 Our utmost strugglings to prohibit.⁴
 This said, they both advanc'd,⁵ and rode
 A dog-trot through the bawling crowd
 T' attack the leader, and still prest 755
 'Till they approach'd him breast to breast :
 Then Hudibras, with face and hand,
 Made signs for silence ; which obtain'd,
 What means, quoth he, this devil's procession
 With men of orthodox profession ? 760

¹ Also called ducking-stool and other names. The custom of ducking female shrews in the water was common in many parts of England and Scotland. Such stools consisted of a chair affixed to the end of a long pole or lever, by which it was immersed in the water, often some stinking pool. In some places the chair was suspended by a chain or a rope, and so lowered from a bridge. For a full account of this once legal practice, see Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn's edit.), vol. iii. p. 103, et seq.

² This ceremony is performed on Ascension-day. It was instituted in 1174, by Pope Alexander III., who gave the Doge a gold ring from his finger in token of the victory achieved by the Venetian fleet over Barbarossa ; desiring him to commemorate the event annually by throwing a circular ring into the Adriatic. The Doge throws a ring into the sea, while repeating the words, "Desponsamus te, mare, in signum veri et perpetui dominii."

³ Butler intimates that the sea is less terrible than a scolding wife.

⁴ "Strugglings" was one of the cant terms for efforts.

⁵ Grey compares this advance of Hudibras and his squire to the attack

'Tis ethnique and idolatrous,
 From heathenism deriv'd to us.
 Does not the whore of Bab'lon ride
 Upon her horned beast astride,
 Like this proud dame, who either is 765
 A type of her, or she of this?
 Are things of superstitious function
 Fit to be us'd in gospel sun-shine?
 It is an antichristian *opera* ¹
 Much us'd in midnight times of popery; 770
 A running after self-inventions
 Of wicked and profane intentions;
 To scandalize that sex for scolding,
 To whom the saints are so beholden.
 Women, who were our first apostles,² 775
 Without whose aid w' had all been lost else;
 Women, that left no stone unturn'd
 In which the Cause might be concern'd;
 Brought in their children's spoons and whistles,³
 To purchase swords, carbines, and pistols: 780
 Their husbands, cullies, and sweethearts,
 To take the saints' and church's parts;

made upon the funeral procession by Don Quixote (Part I., book ii. chap. 5).

¹ By the use of this word, which bore much the same meaning that it does now, the knight not only proclaims his abhorrence of the Skimmington, but also the puritan hostility to musical and dramatic entertainments.

² The author of the Ladies' Calling observes, in his preface, "It is a memorable attestation Christ gives to the piety of women, by making them the first witnesses of his resurrection, the prime evangelists to proclaim these glad tidings, and, as a learned man says, apostles to the apostles." Butler, of course, alludes to the zeal which the ladies manifested for the *good cause*. The case of Lady Monson has already been mentioned. The women and children worked with their own hands in fortifying the city of London, and other towns. The women of Coventry went by companies to fill up the quarries in the great park, that they might not harbour an enemy; and being called together with a drum, marched into the park with mattocks and spades. Annals of Coventry, MS. 1643.

³ In the reign of Richard II. A. D. 1382, Henry le Spencer, bishop of Norwich, set up the cross, and made a collection to support the cause of the enemies of Pope Clement, to which it is said ladies and other women contributed just in the manner Hudibras describes. See Part I. Canto ii. line 569, and note on line 561.

Drew several gifted brethren in,
 That for the bishops would have been,
 And fix'd them constant to the Party, 785
 With motives powerful and hearty :
 Their husbands robb'd and made hard shifts
 T' administer unto their gifts
 All they could rap, and rend,¹ and pilfer,
 To scraps and ends of gold and silver ; 790
 Rubb'd down the teachers, tir'd and spent
 With holding forth for Parliament ;²
 Pamper'd and edify'd their zeal
 With marrow puddings many a meal :
 Enabled them, with store of meat, 795
 On controverted points to eat :³
 And cramm'd them till their guts did ache,
 With caudle, custard, and plum-cake.
 What have they done, or what left undone,
 That might advance the Cause at London ? 800
 March'd rank and file, with drum and ensign,
 T' entrench the city for defence in ;
 Rais'd rampires with their own soft hands,⁴
 To put the enemy to stands ;
 From ladies down to oyster-wenches 805
 Labour'd like pioneers in trenches,
 Fell to their pick-axes and tools,
 And help'd the men to dig like moles ?

¹ *Var.* "Rap and run" in the first four editions.

² Dr Echard thus describes these preachers: "coiners of new phrases, drawers out of long godly words, thick pourers out of texts of Scripture, mimical squeakers and bellowers, vain-glorious admirers only of themselves, and those of their own fashioned face and gesture: such as these shall be followed and worshipped, shall have their bushels of China oranges, shall be solaced with all manner of cordial essences and elixirs, and shall be rubbed down with Holland of ten shillings an ell." See also *Spectator*, p. 46.

³ That is, to eat plentifully of dainties, of which they would sometimes controvert the lawfulness to eat at all.

⁴ When London was expected to be attacked, and in several sieges during the civil war, the women, even the ladies of rank and fortune, not only encouraged the men, and supplied them handsomely with provisions, but worked with their own hands in digging and raising fortifications. Lady Middlesex, Lady Foster, Lady Anne Waller, and Mrs Dunch, have been particularly celebrated for their activity. The Knight's learned harangue is here archly interrupted by the manual wit of one who hits him in the eye with a rotten egg.

Have not the handmaids of the city ¹
 Chose of their members a committee, 810
 For raising of a common purse
 Out of their wages, to raise horse ?
 And do they not as triers sit ²
 To judge what officers are fit ?
 Have they—— At that an egg let fly, 815
 Hit him directly o'er the eye,
 And running down his cheek, besmear'd,
 With orange-tawny ³ slime, his beard ;
 But beard and slime be'ng of one hue,
 The wound the less appear'd in view. 820
 Then he that on the panniers rode
 Let fly on th' other side a load,
 And quickly charg'd again, gave fully,
 In Ralpho's face, another volley.
 The Knight was startled with the smell, 825
 And for his sword began to feel ;
 And Ralpho, smother'd with the stink,
 Grasp'd his, when one that bore a link,
 O' the sudden clapp'd his flaming cudgel,
 Like linstock, to the horse's touch-hole ; ⁴ 830
 And straight another, with his *flambeau*,
 Gave Ralpho, o'er the eyes, a damn'd blow.
 The beasts began to kick and fling,
 And forc'd the rout to make a ring ;

¹ Handmaids was a favourite expression of the puritans for women.

² This was the sneering statement of a satire called the "Parliament of Ladies," printed in 1647. The writer says: that divers weak persons having crept into places beyond their abilities, the House determined, to the end that men of greater parts might be put into their rooms, that the Ladies Waller, Middlesex, Foster, and Mrs Dunch, by reason of their great experience in soldiery, be appointed a *committee of tryers* for the business.

³ Bottom, the weaver (in *Mids. Night's Dream*), might have suggested this epithet, who asks in what beard he shall play the part of Pyramus ? "whether in a perfect yellow beard, an *orange-tawny* beard, or a purple-in-grain beard ?" Orange-tawny was the colour adopted by the Parliament troops at first, being the colours of Essex, who was Lord-general. It was, otherwise, assigned to Jews and to inferior persons. See Bacon, *Essay xli*.

⁴ Linstock, from the German *Linden-stock* (a lime-tree cudgel), signifies the rod of wood with a match at the end of it, used by gunners in firing cannon.

Thro' which they quickly broke their way, 835
 And brought them off from further fray ;
 And tho' disorder'd in retreat,
 Each of them stoutly kept his seat ;
 For quitting both their swords and reins,
 They grasp'd with all their strength the manes ; 840
 And, to avoid the foe's pursuit,
 With spurring put their cattle to't,
 And till all four were out of wind,
 And danger too, ne'er look'd behind.¹
 After they'd paus'd awhile, supplying 845
 Their spirits, spent with fight and flying,
 And Hudibras recruited force
 Of lungs, for action or discourse :
 Quoth he, That man is sure to lose
 That fouls his hands with dirty foes : 850
 For where no honour's to be gain'd,
 'Tis thrown away in be'ng maintain'd :
 'Twas ill for us we had to do
 With so dishon'rable a foe :
 For tho' the law of arms doth bar 855
 The use of venom'd shot in war,²
 Yet by the nauseous smell, and noisome,
 Their case-shot savours strong of poison ;
 And, doubtless, have been chew'd with teeth
 Of some that had a stinking breath ; 860
 Else when we put it to the push,
 They had not giv'n us such a brush :
 But as those poltroons that fling dirt,
 Do but defile, but cannot hurt ;
 So all the honour they have won, 865
 Or we have lost, is much at one.

¹ Presumed to be a sneer at the Earl of Argyll, who more than once fled from Montrose and never looked behind till he was out of danger, as at Inverary in 1644, Inverlochie, and Kilsyth ; and in like manner from Monro at Stirling Bridge, where he did not look behind him till, after eighteen miles hard riding, he had reached the North Queen's ferry and possessed himself of a boat, whence arose the saying—" One pair of heels is worth two pairs of hands."

² " Abusive language and fustian are as unfair in controversy as poisoned arrows or chewed bullets in battle."

'Twas well we made so resolute
 A brave retreat, without pursuit ;¹
 For if we had not, we had sped
 Much worse, to be in triumph led ; 870
 Than which the ancients held no state
 Of man's life more unfortunate.
 But if this bold adventure e'er
 Do chance to reach the widow's ear,
 It may, being destin'd to assert 875
 Her sex's honour, reach her heart :
 And as such homely treats, they say,
 Portend good fortune,² so this may.
 Vespasian being daub'd with dirt³
 Was destin'd to the empire for't ;⁴ 880
 And from a scavenger did come
 To be a mighty prince in Rome :

¹ In both editions of 1664, this line ends "—t' avoid pursuit."

² The original of the coarse proverb here alluded to (*Handbook of Proverbs*, p. 131) was the glorious battle of Agincourt, when the English were so afflicted with the dysentery that most of them chose to fight naked from the girdle downward. It is thus cited in the *Rump Songs*, vol. ii. p. 39.

There's another proverb gives the Rump for his crest,
 But Alderman Atkins made it a jest,
 That of all kinds of luck, shitten luck is the best.

³ This and the five following lines were not in the two first editions, but were added in 1674.

⁴ Suetonius, in the *Life of Vespasian*, sect. v., says, "When he was ædile, Caligula, being enraged at his not taking care to keep the streets clean, ordered him to be covered with mud, which the soldiers heaped up even into the bosom of his prætexta; and there were not wanting those who foretold that at some time the state, trodden down and neglected through civil discord, would come into his guardianship, or as it were into his bosom." See Bohn's *Suetonius*, p. 446. But Dio Cassius, with all his superstition, acknowledges that the secret meaning of the circumstance was not discovered till after the event. Nash thinks that Butler might also have in view the following story told of Oliver Cromwell, afterward Lord Protector. When young he was invited by Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, to some Christmas revels given for the entertainment of King James I., when, indulging his love for fun, he went to the ball with his hands and clothes besmeared with excrement, to the great disgust of the company: for which outrage the master of misrule ordered him to be ducked in the horsepond. Noble's *Memoirs of the Cromwell Family*, vol. i. p. 98, and Bate's *Elenchus Motuum*.

And why may not this foul address
Presage in love the same success ?
Then let us straight, to cleanse our wounds, 885
Advance in quest of nearest ponds ;
And after, as we first design'd,
Swear I've perform'd what she enjoin'd.¹

¹ The Knight resolves to wash his face and foul his conscience; he was no longer for reducing Ralpho to a whipping, but for deceiving the widow by forswearing himself.



PART II. CANTO III.



ARGUMENT.

The Knight, with various doubts possest,
To win the Lady goes in quest
Of Sidrophel the Rosy-crucian,
To know the dest'nies' resolution:
With whom b'ing met, they both chop logic
About the science astrologic;
Till falling from dispute to fight,
The Conj'rer's worsted by the Knight.

PART II. CANTO III.¹



DOUBTLESS the pleasure is as great
 Of being cheated, as to cheat;²
 As lookers-on feel most delight,
 That least perceive a juggler's slight,
 And still the less they understand, 5
 The more th' admire his slight of hand.

Some with a noise, and greasy light,
 Are snapt, as men catch larks by night,³
 Ensnar'd and hamper'd by the soul,
 As nooses by the legs catch fowl.⁴ 10
 Some, with a med'cine and receipt,
 Are drawn to nibble at the bait;⁵

¹ As the subject of this canto is the dispute between Hudibras and an astrologer, it is prefaced by some reflections on the credulity of men, which exposes them to the artifices of cheats and impostors, not only to such as lawyers, physicians, and divines, but even astrologers, wizards, and fortune-tellers. Dr James Young, in his *Sidrophel Vapulans, &c.* (p. 35), tells a good tale of an astrologer begging Pope Gregory the Seventh (who encouraged his art) to assign it a patron saint, and being left to choose for himself, did so blindfold, and laid his hand on the image of the Devil in combat with St Michael. He does not say whether the astrologer was content, or whether the Holy Father confirmed his choice.

² This famous couplet is enlarged on by Swift, in his *Tale of a Tub*, in treating of the pleasures of mental delusion, where he says that the happiness of life consists in being well deceived.

³ This alludes to the morning and evening lectures, which, in those times of pretended reformation and godliness, were delivered by candle-light, in many churches, during a great part of the year. To maintain and frequent these, was deemed the greatest evidence of religion and sanctity. The gifted preachers were very loud. The simile is taken from the method of catching larks at night, in some countries, by means of a bell and a lantern: that is, by first alarming them, and then blinding them with a light, so that they are easily caught.

⁴ Woodcocks, and some other birds, are caught in springs.

⁵ Are cheated by quacks who boast of nostrums and infallible receipts.

And tho' it be a two-foot trout,
 'Tis with a single hair pull'd out.¹
 Others believe no voice t' an organ 15
 So sweet as lawyer's in his bar-gown,²
 Until, with subtle cobweb-cheats,
 They're catch'd in knotted law, like nets;
 In which, when once they are imbrangled,
 The more they stir, the more they're tangled; 20
 And while their purses can dispute,
 There's no end of th' immortal suit.
 Others still gape t' anticipate
 The cabinet designs of fate,
 Apply to wizards, to foresee³ 25
 What shall, and what shall never be;⁴
 And as those vultures do forbode,⁵
 Believe events prove bad or good.
 A flam more senseless than the roguery
 Of old aruspicy and aug'ry,⁶ 30
 That out of garbages of cattle
 Presag'd th' events of truce or battle;
 From flight of birds, or chickens pecking,
 Success of great'st attempts would reckon:

¹ That is, though a man of discernment, and one as unlikely to be caught by a medicine and a receipt, as a trout two feet long to be pulled out by a single hair.

² In the hope of success many are led into law-suits, from which they are not able to extricate themselves till they are quite ruined. See Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxx. cap. 4, where the evil practices of lawyers in the Roman Empire are described, in terms not unsuitable to modern times.

³ *Var.* Run after wizards; in editions of 1664.

⁴ Thus Horace, in his fifth Satire, Book ii. v. 59:

O son of great Laertes, everything
 Shall come to pass, or never, as I sing;
 For Phœbus, monarch of the tuneful Nine,
 Informs my soul, and gives me to divine.

⁵ Alluding to the opinion that vultures repair beforehand to the place where battles will be fought. Vultures being birds of prey, the word is here used in a double sense.

⁶ Aruspicy was divination by sacrifice; by the behaviour of the beast before it was slain, by the appearance of its entrails, or of the flames while it was burning. Augury was divination from appearances in the heavens, thunder, lightning, &c., also from birds, their flight, chattering, manner of feeding, &c. Cato used to say, somewhat shrewdly, that he marvelled how an augur could keep his countenance when he met a brother of the College.

Tho' cheats, yet more intelligible 35
 Than those that with the stars do fribble.
 This Hudibras by proof found true,
 As in due time and place we'll shew :
 For he, with beard and face made clean,
 Being mounted on his steed again, 40
 And Ralpho got a cock-horse too,
 Upon his beast, with much ado,
 Advanc'd on for the widow's house,
 T' acquit himself and pay his vows ;
 When various thoughts began to bustle 45
 And with his inward man to justle.¹
 He thought what danger might accrue,
 If she should find he swore untrue ;
 Or if his squire or he should fail,
 And not be punctual in their tale, 50
 It might at once the ruin prove
 Both of his honour, faith, and love :
 But if he should forbear to go,
 She might conclude he'd broke his vow ;
 And that he durst not now, for shame, 55
 Appear in court to try his claim.
 This was the penn'orth of his thought,²
 To pass time, and uneasy trot.
 Quoth he, In all my past adventures
 I ne'er was set so on the tenters, 60
 Or taken tardy with dilemma,³
 That ev'ry way I turn, does hem me,
 And with inextricable doubt
 Besets my puzzled wits about :
 For though the dame has been my bail, 65
 To free me from enchanted jail,
 Yet, as a dog committed close
 For some offence, by chance breaks loose,
 And quits his clog ; but all in vain,

¹ The Knight is perpetually troubled with "cases of conscience;" this being one characteristic of the class which he typifies.

² That is, the value of it, in allusion to the common saying—"A penny for your thoughts."

³ An argument in logic consisting of two or more propositions, so disposed that deny or admit which you will you shall be involved in difficulties.

He still draws after him his chain : ¹ 70
 So tho' my ancle she has quitted,
 My heart continues still committed ;
 And like a bail'd and mainpriz'd lover,²
 Altho' at large I am bound over :
 And when I shall appear in court 75
 To plead my cause, and answer for't,
 Unless the judge do partial prove,
 What will become of me and love ?
 For if in our account we vary,
 Or but in circumstance miscarry : 80
 Or if she put me to strict proof,
 And make me pull my doublet off,
 To show, by evident record,
 Writ on my skin, I've kept my word,
 How can I e'er expect to have her, 85
 Having demurr'd unto her favour ?
 But faith, and love, and honour lost,
 Shall be reduc'd t' a knight o' th' post : ³
 Beside, that stripping may prevent
 What I'm to prove by argument, 90
 And justify I have a tail,
 And that way, too, my proof may fail.
 Oh ! that I could enucleate,⁴
 And solve the problems of my fate ;
 Or find, by necromantic art,⁵ 95
 How far the dest'nies take my part ;
 For if I were not more than certain
 To win and wear her, and her fortune,

¹ Persius applies this simile to the case of a person who is well inclined, but cannot resolve to be uniformly virtuous. See Satire V. v. 157.

Alas! the struggling dog breaks loose in vain,
 Whose neck still drags along a trailing length of chain.

And Petrarch has applied this simile to love.

² Mainprized signifies one delivered by the judge into the custody of such as shall undertake to see him forthcoming at the day appointed. He had been set free from the stocks by the widow, and had bound himself to appear before her. ³ See note at p. 28.

⁴ Explain, or open ; literally, to take the kernel out of a nut.

⁵ Necromancy, or the black art, is the discovery of future events by communicating with the dead. It is called the black art, from the fanciful resemblance of necromancy to *nigromancy*, and because it was presumed that evil spirits were concerned in effecting the communication with the dead.

I'd go no further in this courtship,
 To hazard soul, estate, and worship : 100
 For tho' an oath obliges not,
 Where anything is to be got,¹
 As thou hast prov'd, yet 'tis profane
 And sinful when men swear in vain.
 Quoth Ralph, Not far from hence doth dwell 105
 A cunning man, hight Sidrophel,²
 That deals in destiny's dark counsels,
 And sage opinions of the moon sells,³
 To whom all people far and near,
 On deep importances repair : 110
 When brass and pewter hap to stray,⁴
 And linen slinks out of the way ;
 When geese and pullen are seduc'd,⁵
 And sows of sucking pigs are chows'd ;⁶
 When cattle feel indisposition, 115
 And need th' opinion of physician ;
 When murrain reigns in hogs or sheep,
 And chickens languish of the pip ;
 When yeast and outward means do fail,
 And have no pow'r to work on ale ; 120

¹ The accommodating notions of dissenters with regard to oaths have already been stated in some preceding cantos.

² Sidrophel was no doubt intended for William Lilly, the famous astrologer and almanack maker, who, till the king's affairs declined, was a cavalier, but after the year 1645, engaged body and soul in the cause of the Parliament, and was one of the close committee to consult about the king's execution. He was consulted by the Royalists, with the king's privity, whether the king should escape from Hampton-court, whether he should sign the propositions of the Parliament, &c., and had twenty pounds for his opinion. See the Life of A. Wood, Oxford, 1772, p. 101, 102, and his own Life, in which are many curious particulars. Some have thought that Sir Paul Neal was intended, which is a mistake : but Sir Paul Neal was the Sidrophel of the Heroical Epistle, printed at the end of this canto. *Hight*, that is, called, is from the Anglo-Saxon *hatan*, to call.

³ i. e. the omens which he collects from the appearance of the moon.

⁴ Lilly professed to be above this profitable branch of his art, which he designated the shame of astrology; but he was accused of practising it, in a pamphlet written against him by Sir John Birkenhead.

⁵ Pullen, that is, poultry, from the French *Poulet*.

⁶ This was a new word in Butler's time, having originated in the frauds committed by a "chiaous," or messenger attached to the Turkish Embassy in 1609. See Gifford's Ben Jonson, the Alchemist, Act i. sc. 1.

When butter does refuse to come,¹
 And love proves cross and humoursome ;
 To him with questions, and with urine,²
 They for discov'ry flock, or curing.

Quoth Hudibras, This Sidrophel 125
 I've heard of, and should like it well,
 If thou canst prove the saints have freedom
 To go to sorc'ers when they need 'em.

Says Ralpho, There's no doubt of that ;
 Those principles I've quoted late, 130
 Prove that the godly may allege
 For anything their privilege,
 And to the devil himself may go,
 If they have motives thereunto :
 For as there is a war between 135
 The devil and them, it is no sin
 If they, by subtle stratagem,
 Make use of him, as he does them.

Has not this present Parl'ament
 A ledger to the devil sent,³ 140
 Fully empower'd to treat about
 Finding revolted witches out ?⁴
 And has not he, within a year,
 Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire ?⁵

¹ When a country wench, says Selden in his *Table Talk*, cannot get her butter to come, she says the witch is in the churn.

² Lilly's *Autobiography* abounds with illustrations of these lines ; people of all ranks seem to have had faith in his diagnosis of their waters, as well as in his skill in "discovery."

³ That is, an ambassador. The person meant was Hopkins, the noted witch-finder for the Associated Counties.

⁴ That is, revolted from the Parliament.

⁵ It is incredible what a number of poor, sick, and decrepit wretches were put to death, under the pretence of their being witches. Hopkins occasioned threescore to be hung in one year, in the county of Suffolk. See Dr Hutcheson, p. 59. Grey says, he has seen an account of between three and four thousand that suffered in the king's dominions, from the year 1640 to the king's restoration. "In December, 1649," says Whitelock, "many witches were apprehended. The witch-trier taking a pin, and thrusting it into the skin in many parts of their bodies ; if they were insensible of it, it was a circumstance of proof against them. October, 1652, sixty were accused : much malice, little proof ; though they were tortured many ways to make them confess."

Some only for not being drown'd,¹ 145
 And some for sitting above ground
 Whole days and nights upon their breeches,²
 And feeling pain, were hang'd for witches ;
 And some for putting knavish tricks
 Upon green geese and turkey-chicks, 150
 Or pigs, that suddenly deceast,
 Of griefs unnatural, as he guest ;
 Who after prov'd himself a witch,
 And made a rod for his own breech.³
 Did not the Devil appear to Martin 155
 Luther in Germany for certain ?⁴
 And would have gull'd him with a trick,
 But Mart. was too, too politic.
 Did he not help the Dutch to purge,
 At Antwerp, their cathedral church ?⁵ 160

¹ See Part II. Canto I. line 503, note.

² One of the tests of a witch was to tie her legs across, and so to seat her on them that they were made to sustain the whole weight of her body, and rendered her incapable of motion. In this painful posture she would be kept during the whole of the trial, and sometimes 24 hours, without food, till she confessed.

³ Dr Hutchinson, in his Historical Essay on Witchcraft, page 66, tells us, "that the country, tired of the cruelties committed by Hopkins, tried him by his own system. They tied his thumbs and toes, as he used to do others, and threw him into the water ; when he swam like the rest."

⁴ Luther, in his book *de Missâ privatâ*, says he was persuaded to preach against the Mass by reasons suggested to him by the Devil, in a disputation. Melchior Adam says the Devil appeared to Luther in his own garden, in the shape of a black boar. And the *Table Talk* relates that when Luther was in his chamber, in the castle at Wartsburg, the Devil cracked some nuts which he had in a box upon the bed-post, tumbled empty barrels down-stairs, &c. There is still shown at this castle the mark on the wall, made by Luther's inkstand, which he hurled at the Devil's head, when he mocked the Reformer as he was busied on the translation of the Bible. But he generally rid himself of the tempter by jests, and sometimes rather unsavoury ones. See some anecdotes of Luther's belief in witchcraft in Luther's *Table Talk* by Hazlitt, p. 251, &c.

⁵ In the beginning of the civil war in Flanders, the common people at Antwerp broke into the cathedral and destroyed the ornaments. Strada, in his book *de Bello Belgico*, says, that "several devils were seen to assist them ; without whose aid it would have been impossible, in so short a time, to have done so much mischief."

Sing catches to the saints at Mascon,¹
 And tell them all they came to ask him?
 Appear in divers shapes to Kelly,²
 And speak i' th' nun of Loudun's belly?³
 Meet with the Parliament's committee,
 At Woodstock, on a pers'nal treaty?⁴
 At Sarum take a cavalier,⁵
 I' th' Cause's service, prisoner?
 As Withers, in immortal rhyme,
 Has register'd to after-time.

165

170

¹ Mascon is a town in Burgundy, where an unclean devil, as he was called, played his pranks in the house of Mr Perreaud, a reformed minister, ann. 1612. Sometimes he sang psalms, at others licentious verses, and frequently lampooned the Huguenots. Mr Perreaud published a circumstantial account of him in French, which at the request of Mr Boyle, who had heard the matter attested, was translated into English by Dr Peter de Moulin. The poet calls them saints, because they were of the Genevan creed.

² See notes to lines 236-7-8. The persons here instanced made great pretensions to sanctity. On this circumstance Ralpho founds his argument for the lawfulness of the practice, that saints may converse with the devil. Casaubon informs us that Dee, who was associated with Kelly, employed himself in prayer and other acts of devotion, before he entered upon his conversation with spirits.

³ Grandier, the curate of Loudun, was ordered to be burned alive, A. D. 1634, by Judges commissioned and influenced by Richelieu; and the prioress, with half the nuns in the convent, were obliged to own themselves bewitched. Grandier was a handsome man, and very eloquent; and his real fault was that he outdid the monks in their own arts. There was, in reality, no ground but the envy and jealousy of the monks, for the charges against him. See Bayle's Dictionary, Art. Grandier; and Dr Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft, p. 36.

⁴ Dr Plot, in his History of Oxfordshire, ch. viii., tells us how the devil, or some evil spirit, disturbed the commissioners at Woodstock, whither they went to value the crown lands directly after the execution of Charles I. A personal treaty had been very much desired by the king, and often pressed and petitioned for by great part of the nation; the poet insinuates that though the Parliament refused to hold a personal treaty with the king, yet they scrupled not to hold one with the devil at Woodstock. Sir Walter Scott has made the tale familiar by his novel. The whole of the attacks upon the commissioners, in the form of ghosts and evil spirits, which finally drove them from the place, were planned and in great part carried into effect by a roguish concealed loyalist, Joseph Collins, or Funny Joe, who was engaged as their Secretary, under the name of Giles Sharp.

⁵ Withers, who figures in Pope's Dunciad, was a puritanical officer in the Parliament army and a prolific writer of verse. He has a long story, in doggerel, of a soldier of the king's army, who being a prisoner at Salisbury, and drinking a health to the devil upon his knees, was carried away by him through a single pane of glass.

Do not our great reformers use
 This Sidrophel to forebode news ;¹
 To write of victories next year,²
 And castles taken, yet i' th' air ?
 Of battles fought at sea, and ships 175
 Sunk, two years hence ? the last eclipse ?³
 A total o'erthrow giv'n the king
 In Cornwall, horse and foot, next spring ?⁴
 And has not he point-blank foretold
 Whats'e'er the close committee would ?⁵ 180
 Made Mars and Saturn for the Cause,⁶
 The moon for Fundamental Laws,
 The Ram, the Bull, the Goat, declare
 Against the book of Common Prayer ?
 The Scorpion take the Protestation, 185
 And Bear engage for Reformation ?
 Made all the royal stars recant,
 Compound, and take the Covenant ?⁷
 Quoth Hudibras, The case is clear
 The saints may employ a conjurer, 190
 As thou hast prov'd it by their practice ;
 No argument like matter of fact is :
 And we are best of all led to
 Men's principles, by what they do.

¹ Lilly was employed to foretell victories on the side of the Parliament, and was well paid for his services.

² Lilly tells us himself how he predicted a victory for the king about June, 1645, which unluckily proved to be the time of his total defeat at Naseby. He says that during Cromwell's campaign in Scotland, in one of the battles, a soldier encouraged his comrades by reading the month's prediction of victories to them, out of "Anglicus."

³ Lilly grounded lying predictions on that event. Grey says, his reputation was lost by his false prognostic of an eclipse that was to happen on the 29th of March 1652, commonly called Black Monday. But in 1656, the Royalists at Bruges were greatly inspired by a prediction of the king's restoration in the following year, which he had communicated to one of Charles' secretaries.

⁴ The direct contrary happened; for the king overthrew the Parliamentarians in Cornwall.

⁵ The Parliament appointed a licenser of almanacks, and so prevented any from appearing which prophesied good for the Cause.

⁶ Made the planets and constellations side with the Parliament.

⁷ The author here evidently alludes to Charles, elector palatine of the Rhine, and to King Charles the Second, who both took the Covenant.

Then let us straight advance in quest 195
 Of this profound gymnosophist,¹
 And as the fates and he advise,
 Pursue, or waive this enterprize.

This said, he turn'd about his steed,
 And eftsoons on th' adventure rid ; 200
 Where leave we him and Ralph awhile,
 And to the Conj'rer turn our stile,
 To let our reader understand
 What's useful of him beforehand.

He had been long t'wards mathematics, 205
 Optics, philosophy, and statics,
 Magic, horoscopy, astrology,
 And was old dog² at physiology ;
 But as a dog, that turns the spit,³
 Bestirs himself, and plies his feet 210
 To climb the wheel, but all in vain,
 His own weight brings him down again ;
 And still he's in the self-same place
 Where at his setting out he was ;
 So in the circle of the arts 215
 Did he advance his nat'ral parts,
 Till falling back still, for retreat,
 He fell to juggle, cant, and cheat :⁴
 For as those fowls that live in water
 Are never wet, he did but smatter ; 220

¹ The Gymnosophists were a sect of philosophers in India, so called from their going with naked feet and very little clothing. They were extreme abstinent, and much respected for their superior sanctity. Butler seems to use the word as equivalent to recluse or ascetic.

² A humorous employment of the proverbial term for an experienced or knowing person.

³ Prior's simile seems to have been suggested by this passage :

Dear Thomas, didst thou never see
 ('Tis but by way of simile)
 A squirrel spend his little rage
 In jumping round a rolling cage ?
 But here or there, turn wood or wire,
 He never gets two inches higher.
 So fares it with those merry blades
 That frisk it under Pindus' shades.

⁴ The account here given of William Lilly agrees exactly with his Life written by himself.

Whate'er he labour'd to appear,
 His understanding still was clear ;¹
 Yet none a deeper knowledge boasted,
 Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted.²
 Th' intelligible world he knew,³ 225
 And all men dream on't, to be true,
 That in this world there's not a wart
 That has not there a counterpart ;
 Nor can there, on the face of ground,
 An individual beard be found, 230
 That has not in that foreign nation
 A fellow of the self-same fashion ;
 So cut, so colour'd, and so curl'd,
 As those are in th' inferior world.
 He'd read Dee's prefaces before 235
 The Devil, and Euclid o'er and o'er ;⁴
 And all th' intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,
 Lescus and th' emperor, would tell ye :⁵

¹ Clear, that is, empty.

² Roger Bacon was a Franciscan friar, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and was commonly regarded as a conjurer or practitioner of the black art, on account of his knowledge of natural science and philosophy. His *Opus Majus* is one of the most wonderful books of the times in which he lived. He was acquainted with the composition of gunpowder, and seems to have anticipated some of the great discoveries of later ages. Robert Grosstete, bishop of Lincoln, a contemporary of Bacon, was a man of great learning, considering the times, and was declared to be a magician by the ignorant ecclesiastics. He distinguished himself by resisting the aggressions of the Papacy on the liberties of the English Church, for which he incurred the anathemas of Pope Innocent IV.

³ The intelligible world was the model or prototype of the visible world. See P. i. c. i. v. 536, and note.

⁴ Dr John Dee, the reputed magician, was born in London, 1527, and educated at Cambridge as a clergyman of the English Church. He enjoyed great fame during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., by his knowledge in mathematics ; Tycho Brahe gives him the title of præstantissimus mathematicus, and Camden calls him nobilis mathematicus. He wrote, among other things, a preface to Euclid, and to Billingsley's Geometry, to which Butler apparently alludes. He began early to have the reputation of holding intercourse with the Devil, and on an occasion when he was absent, the populace broke into his house and destroyed the greater part of his valuable library and museum, valued at several thousand pounds.

⁵ Kelly was an apothecary at Worcester, and Dee's chief assistant, his seer or "skryer" (that is, *medium*), as he called him. A learned Pole, Al-

But with the moon was more familiar
 Than e'er was almanack well-willer ;¹ 240
 Her secrets understood so clear,
 That some believ'd he had been there ;
 Knew when she was in fittest mood
 For cutting corns, or letting blood ;²
 When for anointing scabs and itches, 245
 Or to the bum applying leeches ;
 When sows and bitches may be spay'd,
 And in what sign best cider's made ;
 Whether the wane be, or increase,
 Best to set garlic, or sow pease ; 250
 Who first found out the man i' th' moon,³
 That to the ancients was unknown ;
 How many dukes, and earls, and peers,
 Are in the planetary spheres,
 Their airy empire and command, 255
 Their sev'ral strengths by sea and land ;

bert Laski, whom Mr Butler calls Lescus, visiting England, formed an acquaintance with Dee and Kelly, and when he left this country took them and their families with him into Poland. Next to Kelly, he was the greatest confidant of Dee in his secret transactions. They were entertained by the Emperor Rodolph II., to whom they disclosed some of their secrets, and showed the wonderful stone ; and he, in return, treated them with great respect, knighted Kelly, but afterwards imprisoned him. Dee received some advantageous offers, it is said, from the king of France, the emperor of Muscovy, and several foreign princes, but he returned to England, and, after great vicissitudes, died in poverty at Mortlake, in the year 1608, aged 81.

¹ The almanack makers styled themselves well-willers to the mathematics, or philomaths.

² Respecting these, and other matters mentioned in the following lines, Lilly, and the old almanack makers, gave particular directions. Astrologers of all ages have regarded certain planetary aspects to be especially favourable to the operations of husbandry and physic, and the influence of the moon is still pretty generally recognised. See Tusser's Five hundred Points of Good Husbandry.

³ There are and have been, in all countries and ages, different popular beliefs respecting the man in the moon. He is a stealer of firewood, according to Chaucer ; according to others, a sabbath-breaker, or the man who was stoned for gathering sticks on the sabbath, whilst the Israelites were in the wilderness (see Numbers xv. 32). The Italian peasantry have for ages called him Cain, and as such he is alluded to in Dante, Paradiso II. (Wright's translation, page 309). See Daniel O'Rourke's Dream, in Crofton Croker's Fairy Legends, for a truly Hibernian representation of his love of solitude.

What factions they 've, and what they drive at
 In public vogue, or what in private ;
 With what designs and interests
 Each party manages contests. 260
 He made an instrument to know
 If the moon shine at full or no ;
 That would, as soon as e'er she shone, straight
 Whether 'twere day or night demonstrate ;
 Tell what her d'ameter to 'n inch is,¹ 265
 And prove that she's not made of green cheese.
 It would demonstrate, that the Man in
 The moon's a sea mediterranean ;²
 And that it is no dog nor bitch
 That stands behind him at his breech, 270
 But a huge Caspian sea or lake,
 With arms, which men for legs mistake ;
 How large a gulph his tail composes,
 And what a goodly bay his nose is ;
 How many German leagues by th' scale 275
 Cape snout's from promontory tail.
 He made a planetary gin,³
 Which rats would run their own heads in,
 And come on purpose to be taken,
 Without th' expence of cheese or bacon ; 280
 With lute-strings he would counterfeit
 Maggots, that crawl on dish of meat ;⁴
 Quote moles and spots on any place
 O' th' body, by the index face ;⁵

¹ The determination of the diameter of the moon was so recent an event in Butler's time, that scientific pedants rendered themselves fair butts for his satire by the use they made of this knowledge of it.

² It used to be supposed that the darker shadows on the moon's surface were seas ; and the old astronomers gave them various names, some after a fancied analogy in their distribution to the principal seas of the eastern hemisphere of the globe ; others, purely arbitrary. They are now known to be merely depressions on the surface ; the closest observers having failed to detect any trace of either water or air !

³ The horoscope, which looks like a net or trap, and in which places for the planets are duly assigned.

⁴ The strings of a fiddle or lute, cut into short pieces, and strewed upon warm meat, will contract, and appear like live maggots.

⁵ "Some physiognomers have conceited the head of man to be the model of the whole body ; so that any mark there will have a corresponding one on some part of the body." See Lilly's Life.

Detect lost maidenheads by sneezing, 285
 Or breaking wind of dames, or pissing ;¹
 Cure warts and corns, with application
 Of med'cines to th' imagination ;²
 Fright agues into dogs, and scare,
 With rhymes, the tooth-ach and catarrh ;³ 290
 Chase evil spirits away by dint
 Of sickle, horseshoe, hollow flint ;⁴
 Spit fire out of a walnut-shell,⁵
 Which made the Roman slaves rebel ;
 And fire a mine in China, here, 295
 With sympathetic gunpowder.

¹ Democritus is said to have pronounced more nicely on the maid-servant of Hippocrates. Lilly professed this art, and said that no woman, whom he found a maid, ever twitted him with having been mistaken.

² Warts are still "charmed away;" and there are few persons who cannot recite numerous examples of the efficacy of "medicines applied to the imagination," for the removal of those unseemly excrescences.

³ Butler seems to have raked together as many of the baits for human credulity as his reading could furnish, or he had ever heard mentioned. These charms for tooth-aches and coughs were well known to the common people a few years since. The word *abracadabra*, for fevers, is as old as Sammonicus. *Haut haut hista pista vista*, were recommended for a sprain by Cato, and Homer relates that the sons of Antolycus stopped the bleeding of Ulysses' wound by a charm. Soothing medicines are still called *carminatives*, from the Latin *carmen*, a magic formula. But the records of superstition in this respect are endless, and Grey quotes several which are very amusing. He says, "I have heard of a merry baronet, Sir B. B., who had great success in the cure of agues by charms. A gentleman of his acquaintance applying to him for the cure of a stubborn quartan, which had defied the doctors, he told him he had no faith, and would be prying into the secret, and then, notwithstanding the fit might be staved off awhile, it would certainly return. "The gentleman promised him on his word of honour he would not look into it, but when he had escaped a second fit he could resist his curiosity no longer, and opened the paper, when he found in it no more than the words *kiss — —*." Another story of the kind is told by Selden in his *Table-Talk*. He cured a person of quality, who fancied he had two devils in his head, by wrapping a card in a piece of silk with strings, and hanging it round his neck. But those who delight in such stories will find an abundance of them in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, 3 vols. post 8vo.

⁴ There is scarcely a stable-door in the country (none certainly at Newmarket) without a horseshoe nailed on it, or on the threshold.

⁵ This refers to the origin of the Servile war in Sicily, when Eunus, a Syrian, excited his companions in slavery to a revolt, by pretending a commission from the gods; and filling a nutshell with sulphur, breathed out fire and smoke in proof of his divine authority. See Livy, Florus, and other Roman historians.

He knew what's ever's to be known,
 But much more than he knew would own.
 What med'cine 'twas that Paracelsus
 Could make a man with, as he tells us ;¹ 300
 What figur'd slates are best to make,
 On wat'ry surface duck or drake ;²
 What bowling-stones, in running race
 Upon a board, have swiftest pace ;
 Whether a pulse beat in the black 305
 List of a dappled louse's back ;³
 If systole or diastole move
 Quickest when he's in wrath, or love ;⁴
 When two of them do run a race,
 Whether they gallop, trot, or pace ; 310
 How many scores a flea will jump,
 Of his own length, from head to rump,⁵
 Which Socrates and Chærephon
 In vain assay'd so long ago ;
 Whether his snout a perfect nose is, 315
 And not an elephant's proboscis ;⁶

¹ Paracelsus was born in 1493, in Switzerland ; and studied medicine, but devoted himself most to astrology and alchemy. He professed to have discovered the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of life, but nevertheless died in poverty. One of his doctrines was that man might be generated without connexion of the sexes, an idea which was humorously but coarsely ridiculed by Rabelais, book ii. ch. 27, where he speaks of begetting 53,000 little men with a single f—.

² Intimating that Sidrophel was a smatterer in natural philosophy, and knew something of the laws of motion and gravity, though all hō arrived at was but child's play, such as making ducks and drakes on the water, &c.

³ It was the fashion with the wits of our author's time to ridicule the Transactions of the Royal Society, and Dr Hooke in particular, whose *Micrographia* is here particularly referred to. Hooke was an admirable and laborious practical philosopher, but in his writings betrays much credulity and deficiency of method.

⁴ Systole (the contraction) and diastole (the dilatation) of the heart, are the motions by means of which the circulation of the blood is effected ; and the passions of the mind have a sensible influence on the animal economy.

⁵ Aristophanes (*Clouds*, Act i. sc. 24), introduces a scholar of Socrates describing the method in which Socrates, and his friend Chærephon, endeavoured to ascertain how many lengths of its own feet a flea will jump, not, as our author says, how many lengths of its body. Both Plato and Xenophon allude to this ridicule of their master.

⁶ The lancets and sucker of the flea were a very favourite object of our earlier microscopists ; and they are still popular.

How many diff'rent specieses
 Of maggots breed in rotten cheeses ;
 And which are next of kin to those
 Engender'd in a chandler's nose ; 320
 Or those not seen, but understood,
 That live in vinegar and wood.¹

A paltry wretch he had, half starv'd,
 That him in place of Zany serv'd,²
 Hight Whachum, bred to dash and draw, 325
 Not wine, but more unwholesome law ;
 To make 'twixt words and lines huge gaps,³
 Wide as meridians in maps ;
 To squander paper and spare ink,
 Or cheat men of their words, some think. 330

From this, by merited degrees,
 He'd to more high advancement rise,
 To be an under-conjurer,
 Or journeyman astrologer :
 His business was to pump and wheedle, 335
 And men with their own keys unriddle ;⁴

¹ All the objects spoken of in these lines are mentioned in Dr Hooke's work on the Microscope. The *vibriones* or eels in vinegar, were by their bites absurdly supposed by some to be the cause of its pungency.

² A Zany is a buffoon, or Merry Andrew, designed to assist the quack, as the ballad-singer used to help the cut-purse or pick-pocket. L'Estrange says that Whachum is intended for one Tom Jones, a foolish Welchman. Others think it was meant for Richard Green, who published a piece of ribaldry entitled "Hudibras in a snare," or of Sir George Wharton; and Butler's Biographer of 1710, thinks it was levelled at the author of the spurious "second part" of Hudibras.

³ As lawyers used to do in their bills and answers in Chancery, for which they charged so much per sheet.

⁴ Menckenius, in his book de Charlataneria Eruditorum, ed. Amst. 1747, p. 192, tells the following story. There was a quack who boasted that he could infallibly detect, by the appearance of the urine, not only the diseases of the subject, but all mishaps which might by any means have befallen him. To contrive this he bade his servants pump those who came to consult him, and communicate to him privately what they found out. One day a poor woman brought her husband's water to him; and he had scarcely looked at it when he exclaimed, "Your husband has had the misfortune to fall down-stairs." She, full of wonder, said, "And did you find that out from his water?" "Aye, truly," said he, "and I am very much mistaken if he did not fall down fifteen stairs." When, however, she said that he had actually fallen down twenty; "Pray," said he, with assumed anger, "did you bring all the water?" "No," replied she, "the bottle would not

To make them to themselves give answers,
 For which they pay the necromancers ;
 To fetch and carry intelligence
 Of whom, and what, and where, and whence, 340
 And all discoveries disperse
 Among th' whole pack of conjurers ;
 What cut-purses have left with them,
 For the right owners to redeem ;
 And what they dare not vent, find out, 345
 To gain themselves and th' art repute ;
 Draw figures, schemes, and horoscopes,
 Of Newgate, Bridewell, brokers' shops,
 Of thieves ascendant in the cart,¹
 And find out all by rules of art : 350
 Which way a serving-man, that's run
 With clothes or money 'way, is gone ;
 Who pick'd a fob at holding-forth,²
 And where a watch, for half the worth,
 May be redeem'd ; or stolen plate 355
 Restor'd at conscionable rate.³
 Beside all this, he serv'd his master
 In quality of poetaster,
 And rhymes appropriate could make
 To ev'ry month i' th' almanack ;⁴ 360

hold it all." "There it is," said he, "you have just left those five stairs behind you!" Another story somewhat similar is told by Grey of a Sidrophel in Moorfields, who had in his waiting-room different ropes to little bells which hung in his consulting room upstairs. If a girl had been deceived by her lover, one bell was pulled; if a peasant had lost a cow, another; and so on; his attendant taking care to sift the inquirer beforehand and give notice accordingly. ¹ Ascendant, a term in astrology, is here equivocal.

² Holding-forth was merely preaching, and the term was borrowed, without much appropriateness, from the Epistle to the Philippians, chap. ii. 16. But Dean Swift, in his "Tale of a Tub," gives a different derivation of the term, and humorously says that it arose from the way in which the dissenters held forth their ears "of grim magnitude," first on one side and then on the other. At this period warning was customarily given in churches and chapels, either by a notice board, or orally from the minister, to beware of pickpockets.

³ It was a penal offence to compound a felony. And the astrologers' profession naturally led them to be brothers in such affairs. Lilly acknowledges that he was once indicted for his performance in this line.

⁴ Alluding to John Booker, who, Lilly informs us, "made excellent verses upon the twelve months, framed according to the configuration of each."

When terms begin, and end, could tell,
 With their returns, in doggerel ;¹
 When the exchequer opes and shuts,
 And sow-gelder with safety cuts ;
 When men may eat and drink their fill, 365
 And when be temp'rate if they will ;
 When use, and when abstain from vice,
 Figs, grapes, phlebotomy, and spice.
 And as in prison mean rogues beat
 Hemp for the service of the great,² 370
 So Whachum beat his dirty brains
 T' advance his master's fame and gains,
 And like the devil's oracles,
 Put into dogg'rel rhymes his spells,
 Which, over ev'ry month's blank page 375
 I' th' almanack, strange bilks presage.³
 He would an elegy compose
 On maggots squeez'd out of his nose ;
 In lyric numbers write an ode on
 His mistress, eating a black-pudden ; 380
 And, when imprison'd air escap'd her,
 It puffed him with poetic rapture :
 His sonnets charm'd th' attentive crowd,
 By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,
 That, circled with his long-ear'd guests, 385
 Like Orpheus look'd among the beasts :
 A carman's horse could not pass by,
 But stood ty'd up to poetry :
 No porter's burden pass'd along,
 But serv'd for burden to his song : 390

¹ Mnemonic verses for such things have always been in vogue and are useful enough : such as Thirty days has September, April, June, and November, &c. The couplet by which the Dominical or Sunday Letter can always be discovered (in common years) is an example of them—

"At Dover Dwell George Brown Esquire
 Good Christopher Finch And David Frier."

The initial letters being those of the first days of the twelve months, in order ; from which those of all other days may be reckoned.

² Petty rogues, in Bridewell, beat hemp ; and it may happen that the produce of their labour is employed in making halters, in which greater criminals are hanged.

³ Bilk signifies a cheat or fraud, as well as to baulk or disappoint.

Each window like a pill'ry appears,
 With heads thrust thro' nailed by the ears ;
 All trades run in as to the sight
 Of monsters, or their dear delight
 The gallow-tree, when cutting purse 395
 Breeds bus'ness for heroic verse,¹
 Which none does hear, but would have hung
 T' have been the theme of such a song.²
 Those two together long had liv'd,
 In mansion, prudently contriv'd,³ 400
 Where neither tree nor house could bar
 The free detection of a star ;
 And nigh an ancient obelisk
 Was rais'd by him, found out by Fisk,⁴
 On which was written, not in words, 405
 But hieroglyphic mute of birds,⁵
 Many rare pithy saws, concerning
 The worth of astrologic learning :
 From top of this there hung a rope,
 To which he fasten'd telescope ; 410
 The spectacles with which the stars
 He reads in smallest characters.
 It happen'd as a boy, one night,
 Did fly his tarsel⁶ of a kite,

¹ "Copies of Verses," indited in the name of the culprit, as well as his "last dying speech and confession," were then customarily hawked about, on the day of the execution.

² Sir John Denham sings of the Earl of Strafford :

So did he move our passions, some were known
 To wish, for the defence, the crime their own.

³ Lilly had a house and grounds at Hershams, Walton-on-Thames, which was his regular abode when not in London. He tells us in his *Life* that he bought them in 1652, for £950.

⁴ Fisk was a licentiate in medicine of good parts and very studious, but he abandoned his profession in pursuit of astrology. "In the year 1663," says Lilly in his own *Life*, "I became acquainted with Nicholas Fisk, licentiate in physic, born in Suffolk, fit for, but not sent to, the university, studying at home astrology and physic, which he afterwards practised at Colchester. He had a pension from the Parliament; and during the civil war, and the whole of the usurpation, prognosticated on that side."

⁵ That is, the dung of birds. See the account of Tobit's loss of his eye sight in the *Book of Tobit*.

⁶ Tiersel, or tiercelet, is the French name of the male goss-hawk. See Wright's *Glossary*.

The strangest long-wing'd hawk that flies, 415
 That, like a bird of Paradise,
 Or herald's martlet, has no legs,¹
 Nor hatches young ones, nor lays eggs ;
 His train was six yards long, milk white,
 At th' end of which there hung a light, 420
 Enclos'd in lanthorn made of paper,
 That far off like a star did appear :
 This Sidrophel by chance espy'd,
 And with amazement staring wide :
 Bless us, quoth he, what dreadful wonder 425
 Is that appears in heaven yonder ?
 A comet, and without a beard !
 Or star, that ne'er before appear'd !²
 I'm certain 'tis not in the scrowl
 Of all those beasts, and fish, and fowl,³ 430
 With which, like Indian plantations,
 The learned stock the constellations ;⁴

¹ The old naturalists, partly because the legs of the birds of Paradise are feathered down to the feet, and partly because the natives cut off the feet and used the whole skin as a plume, thought that they had no feet, and invented the most ridiculous fables about them. Martlets in heraldry are represented without feet. They are intended for the great black swallow, called the swift, or deviling, which has long and powerful wings, and is very seldom known to alight except on its nest.

² There are several appearances (and disappearances) of new stars recorded. One in 1573, and another in 1604, which became almost as bright as the planet Venus. Another was seen in 1670 ; but that was after Butler had written these lines.

³ Astronomers have, from the earliest times, grouped the stars into constellations, which they have distinguished by the names of beasts, birds, fishes, &c., according to their supposed forms. Butler in his *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 9, says :

That elephants are in the moon,
 Though we had now discover'd none,
 Is easily made manifest ;
 Since from the greatest to the least,
 All other stars and constellations
 Have cattle of all sorts of nations.

⁴ The old Cosmographers, when they found vast places, whereof they knew nothing, used to fill the same with an account of Indian plantations, strange birds, beasts, &c.

Nor those that, drawn for signs, have been
 To th' houses where the planets inn.¹
 It must be supernatural, 435
 Unless it be that cannon-ball
 That, shot i' the air, point-blank upright,
 Was borne to that prodigious height,
 That, learn'd philosophers maintain,
 It ne'er came backwards down again,² 440
 But in the airy regions yet
 Hangs, like the body o' Mahomet,³
 For if it be above the shade,
 That by the earth's round bulk is made,
 'Tis probable it may from far, 445
 Appear no bullet, but a star.
 This said, he to his engine flew,
 Plac'd near at hand, in open view,
 And rais'd it, till it levell'd right
 Against the glow-worm tail of kite;⁴ 450
 Then peeping thro', Bless us! quoth he,
 It is a planet now I see;
 And if I err not, by his proper
 Figure, that's like tobacco-stopper,⁵
 It should be Saturn: yes, 'tis clear 455
 'Tis Saturn; but what makes him there?
 He's got between the Dragon's tail,
 And further leg behind o' th' Whale;⁶
 Pray heav'n divert the fatal omen,
 For 'tis a prodigy not common, 460

¹ Signs, a pun on the signs for public-houses, and the signs or constellations in the heavens. The constellations are called "houses" by astrologers.

² Some foreign philosophers directed a cannon towards the zenith; and, having fired it without finding where the ball fell, conjectured that it had stuck in the moon. Des Cartes imagined that the ball remained in the air. See *Tale of a Tub*, p. 252.

³ The story of Mahomet's body being suspended in an iron chest, between two great loadstones (which is *not* a Mahometan tradition), is refuted by Sandys and Prideaux.

⁴ The luminous part of the glow-worm is the tail.

⁵ This alludes to the symbol of Saturn in some of the old books. Astrologers use a sign not much unlike it.

⁶ On some old globes the Whale is represented with legs.

And can no less than the world's end,¹
 Or nature's funeral, portend.
 With that, he fell again to pry
 Thro' perspective more wistfully,
 When, by mischance, the fatal string, 465
 That kept the tow'ring fowl on wing,
 Breaking, down fell the star. Well shot,
 Quoth Whachum, who right wisely thought
 He'd levell'd at a star, and hit it ;
 But Sidrophel, more subtle-witted, 470
 Cry'd out, What horrible and fearful
 Portent is this, to see a star fall !
 It threatens nature, and the doom
 Will not be long before it come !
 When stars do fall, 'tis plain enough² 475
 The day of judgment's not far off ;
 As lately 'twas reveal'd to Sedgwick,³
 And some of us find out by magick :
 Then, since the time we have to live
 In this world's shorten'd, let us strive 480
 To make our best advantage of it,
 And pay our losses with our profit.
 This feat fell out not long before
 The Knight, upon the forenam'd score,
 In quest of Sidrophel advancing, 485
 Was now in prospect of the mansion ;

¹ "At sight whereof the people stand aghast,
 But the sage wizard telles, as he has redd,
 That it importunes deth, and doleful dreryhed."

Fairy Queen, Book iii. Canto i. st. 16.

² This notion of falling stars was almost universal, until science showed the phenomenon to be both common and periodical. The theory is that these bodies are fragments traversing the planetary spaces, and at given times are drawn by the earth's attraction to her surface.

³ Will. Sedgwick was a whimsical fanatic preacher, alternately a Presbyterian, an Independent, and an Anabaptist, settled by the Parliament in the city of Ely. He pretended much to revelations, and was called the apostle of the Isle of Ely. He gave out that the approach of the day of judgment had been disclosed to him in a vision ; and going to the house of Sir Francis Russel, in Cambridgeshire, where he found several gentlemen at bowls, he warned them all to prepare themselves, for the day of judgment would be some day in the next week ; whence he was nick-named Doomsday Sedgwick.

Whom he discov'ring, turn'd his glass,
And found far off 'twas Hudibras.

Whachum, quoth he, Look yonder, some
To try or use our art are come: 490
The one's the learned Knight;¹ seek out,
And pump 'em, what they come about.
Whachum advanc'd with all submiss'ness
T' accost 'em, but much more their bus'ness:
He held the stirrup, while the Knight 495
From Leathern Bare-bones² did alight;
And, taking from his hand the bridle,
Approach'd the dark Squire to unriddle.
He gave him first the time o' th' day,³
And welcom'd him, as he might say: 500
He ask'd him whence they came, and whither
Their bus'ness lay?—Quoth Ralpho, Hither.
Did you not lose?⁴—Quoth Ralpho, Nay.
Quoth Whachum, Sir, I meant your way?
Your Knight—Quoth Ralpho, Is a lover, 505
And pains intol'nable doth suffer;
For lovers' hearts are not their own hearts,
Nor lights, nor lungs, and so forth downwards.
What time?—Quoth Ralpho, Sir, too long,
Three years it off and on has hung— 510
Quoth he, I meant what time o' th' day 'tis.
Quoth Ralpho, Between seven and eight 'tis.
Why then, quoth Whachum, my small art
Tells me the Dame has a hard heart,
Or great estate.—Quoth Ralph, A jointure, 515
Which makes him have so hot a mind t' her.

¹ It does not appear that Hudibras knew Sidrophel; but from lines 1011 and 1012, it is plain that Sidrophel knew Hudibras. It is extremely doubtful whether Lilly was personally acquainted with Sir Samuel Luke.

² In the early editions, Butler prints this word in *italics*, meaning a sly hit at that conspicuous member of Cromwell's First Parliament, Praisegod Barebones, the Leather-Seller.

³ He bade him good evening: see line 540, on next page.

⁴ He assumes that they came to inquire after something stolen or strayed. In these lines we must observe the artfulness of Whachum, who pumps the Squire concerning the Knight's business, and afterwards relates it to Sidrophel in the presence of both of them, but in the cant terms of his own profession, a contrivance already alluded to in note on line 336, at p. 225.

Meanwhile the Knight was making water,
 Before he fell upon the matter :
 Which having done, the Wizard steps in,
 To give him a suitable reception ; 520
 But kept his bus'ness at a bay,
 Till Whachum put him in the way ;
 Who having now, by Ralpho's light,
 Expounded th' errand of the Knight,
 And what he came to know, drew near, 525
 To whisper in the Conj'rer's ear,
 Which he prevented thus : What was't,
 Quoth he, that I was saying last,
 Before these gentlemen arriv'd ?
 Quoth Whachum, Venus you retriev'd ¹ 530
 In opposition with Mars,
 And no benign and friendly stars
 T' allay the effect.² Quoth Wizard, So :
 In Virgo ? Ha ! quoth Whachum, No :³
 Has Saturn nothing to do in it ?⁴ 535
 One-tenth of's circle to a minute !
 'Tis well, quoth he—Sir, you'll excuse
 This rudeness I am forc'd to use ;
 It is a scheme, and face of heaven
 As th' aspects are dispos'd this even, 540
 I was contemplating upon
 When you arriv'd ; but now I've done.
 Quoth Hudibras, if I appear
 Unseasonable in coming here
 At such a time, to interrupt 545
 Your speculations, which I hop'd
 Assistance from, and come to use,
 'Tis fit that I ask your excuse.

¹ That is, found or observed.

² Venus, the goddess of love, opposes and thwarts Mars, the god of war, and there is likely to be no accord between them ; by which he gives him to understand, that the Knight was in love, and had small hopes of success.

³ Is his mistress a virgin ? No, therefore, by inference, a widow.

⁴ Saturn being the god of time, the wizard by these words inquires how long the love affair had been carried on. Whachum replies, one-tenth of his circle to a minute, or three years ; one-tenth of the thirty years in which Saturn finishes his revolution, and exactly the time which the Knight's courtship had been pending.

By no means, Sir, quoth Sidrophel,
The stars your coming did foretell; 550
I did expect you here, and knew,
Before you spake,¹ your business too.

Quoth Hudibras, Make that appear,
And I shall credit whatsoe'er
You tell me after, on your word, 555
Howe'er unlikely, or absurd.

You are in love, Sir, with a widow,
Quoth he, that does not greatly heed you,
And for three years has rid your wit
And passion, without drawing bit; 560
And now your business is to know
If you shall carry her or no.

Quoth Hudibras, You're in the right,
But how the devil you come by't
I can't imagine; for the stars, 565
I'm sure, can tell no more than a horse:
Nor can their aspects, tho' you pore
Your eyes out on 'em, tell you more
Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers,²
That turns as certain as the spheres; 570
But if the Devil's of your counsel,
Much may be done, my noble donzel;³

¹ *Var.* "Know before you speak," edit. of 1689.

² Scot thus describes this practice, which he calls *Coscinomancy*. "Put a paire of sheers in the rim of a sieve, and let two persons set the tip of each of their forefingers upon the upper part of the sheers, holding it with the sieve up from the ground steadily, and ask St Peter and St Paul whether A. B. or C. hath stolen the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guilty person the sieve will turne round." *Discovery of Witchcraft*, book xii. ch. xvii. 262. The *Coskinomant*, or diviner by a sieve, is mentioned by Theocritus, *Idyll* iii. 31 (Bohn's transl. p. 19). The Greek practice differed very little from that which has been stated above. They tied a thread to the sieve, or fixed it to a pair of sheers, which they held between two fingers. After addressing themselves to the gods, they repeated the names of the suspected persons; and he, at whose name the sieve turned round, was adjudged guilty. This mode of divination was popular in rural districts to a very late period, and is not yet entirely exploded. See Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn's edit.), vol. iii. p. 351.

³ Butler says, in his character of a Squire of Dames (*Remains*, vol. ii. p. 39), "he is donzel to the damzels, and gentleman usher daily waiter on the ladies, and rubs out his time in making legs and love to them." The word is likewise used in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*. *Donzel*, a diminutive

And 'tis on his account I come,
 To know from you my fatal doom.
 Quoth Sidrophel, If you suppose, 575
 Sir Knight, that I am one of those,
 I might suspect, and take the alarm,
 Your business is but to inform :¹
 But if it be, 'tis ne'er the near,
 You have a wrong sow by the ear ;² 580
 For I assure you, for my part,
 I only deal by rules of art ;
 Such as are lawful, and judge by
 Conclusions of astrology ;
 But for the Devil, know nothing by him, 585
 But only this, that I defy him.
 Quoth he, Whatever others deem ye,
 I understand your metonymy ;³
 Your words of second-hand intention,⁴
 When things by wrongful names you mention ; 590
 The mystic sense of all your terms,
 That are indeed but magic charms
 To raise the Devil, and mean one thing,
 And that is downright conjuring ;
 And in itself more warrantable⁵ 595
 Than cheat or canting to a rabble,

of Don, is from the Italian *donzello*, and means a young squire, page, or gallant.

¹ That is, to lay an information against him, which would have exposed him to a prosecution, as at that time there was a severe inquisition against conjurers, witches, &c. See note on line 144, page 215.

² Handbook of Proverbs, p. 178.

³ Metonymy is a figure of speech, whereby one word or thing is substituted by representation for another, the cause is put for the effect, the subject for the adjunct, or *vice versa* ;—as we say, a man “keeps a good table,” or “we read Shakspeare,” meaning his works. The term is here used in the sense of a juggle of words.

⁴ Words not used in their primary meaning. Terms of second intention, among the Schoolmen, denote ideas which have been arbitrarily adopted for purposes of science, in opposition to those which are connected with sensible objects. Whately says, “The first intention of a term is a certain vague and general signification of it, as opposed to one more precise and limited, which it bears in some particular art, science, or system, and which is called its second intention.” (Book iii. § 10.)

⁵ The Knight has no faith in astrology ; but wishes the conjurer to own plainly that he deals with the Devil, and then he will hope for some satisfac-

Or putting tricks upon the moon,
 Which by confed'racy are done.
 Your ancient conjurers were wont
 To make her from her sphere dismount,¹ 600
 And to their incantations stoop!
 They scorn'd to pore thro' telescope,
 Or idly play at bo-peep with her,
 To find out cloudy or fair weather,
 Which every almanack can tell, 605
 Perhaps as learnedly and well
 As you yourself—Then, friend I doubt
 You go the furthest way about:
 Your modest Indian Magician
 Makes but a hole in th' earth to piss in,² 610
 And straight resolves all questions by't,
 And seldom fails to be i' th' right.
 The Rosy-crucian way's more sure
 To bring the Devil to the lure;
 Each of 'em has a sev'ral gin, 615
 To catch intelligences in.³
 Some by the nose, with fumes, trepan 'em,
 As Dunstan did the Devil's grannam.⁴

tion from him. To show what may be done in this way, he recounts the great achievements of sorcerers.

¹ So the witch Canidia, in Horace, Ep. XVII. line 78, boasts of her power to snatch the moon from heaven by her incantations. The ancients frequently introduced this fiction. See Virgil, Eclogue viii. 69; Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 207; Propertius, book i. elegy i. 19; and Tibullus, book i. elegy ii. 44.

² "The king presently called to his Bongi to clear the air; the conjurer immediately made a hole in the ground, wherein he urined." Le Blanc's *Travels*, p. 98. The ancient Zabii used to dig a hole in the earth, and fill it with blood, as the means of forming a correspondence with demons, and obtaining their favour.

³ To secure demons or spirits.

⁴ The chemists and alchemists. In Butler's *Remains*, vol. ii. p. 235, we read: "these spirits they use to catch by the noses with fumigations, as St Dunstan did the devil, by a pair of tongs." St Dunstan lived in the tenth century, and became successively abbot of Glastonbury, bishop of London and Worcester, and archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man of great learning, a student of the occult sciences, and proficient in the polite arts, particularly painting and sculpture. The legend runs, that as he was very attentively engraving a gold cup in his cell, the Devil tempted him in the shape of a beautiful woman. The saint, perceiving who it was, took

Others with characters and words
 Catch 'em, as men in nets do birds;¹ 620
 And some with symbols, signs, and tricks,
 Engrav'd in planetary nicks,²
 With their own influences will fetch 'em
 Down from their orbs, arrest, and catch 'em;
 Make 'em depose, and answer to 625
 All questions, ere they let them go.
 Bombastus kept a devil's bird
 Shut in the pummel of his sword,³
 That taught him all the cunning pranks
 Of past and future mountebanks. 630
 Kelly did all his feats upon
 The Devil's looking-glass, a stone,⁴
 Where, playing with him at bo-peep,
 He solv'd all problems ne'er so deep.

up a red-hot pair of tongs, and catching hold of the Devil by the nose, made him howl in such a terrible manner, as to be heard all over the neighbourhood.

¹ By repetition of magical sounds and words, properly called enchantments. See Chaucer's Third Book of Fame.

² By signs and figures described according to astrological symmetry; that is, certain conjunctions or oppositions with the planets and aspects of the stars.

³ Bombastus was the family name of Paracelsus, of whom see note at page 224. Butler's note on this passage in the edition of 1674, is as follows: "Paracelsus is said to have kept a small devil prisoner in the pummel of his sword; which was the reason, perhaps, why he was so valiant in his drink. However, it was to better purpose than Hannibal carried poison in his to dispatch himself, if he should happen to be surprised in any great extremity; for the sword would have done the feat alone much better and more soldier-like. And it was below the honour of so great a commander to go out of the world like a rat."

⁴ Dr Dee had a stone, which he called his angelical stone, asserting that it was brought to him by the angels Raphael and Gabriel, with whom he pretended to be familiar. He told the emperor "that the angels of God had brought to him a stone of such value, that no earthly kingdom is of sufficient worthiness to be compared to the virtue or dignity thereof." It was large, round, and very transparent; and persons who were qualified for the sight of it, were to perceive various shapes and figures, either represented in it as in a looking-glass, or standing upon it as on a pedestal. This stone is now in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum. See Zadkiel's Almanac for 1851, for an account of one of these crystal balls, which formerly belonged to Lady Blessington, and for the visions which were seen in it (?) in 1850. It is said that Dee's Angelical Stone, which was in the

Agrippa kept a Stygian pug, 635
 I' th' garb and habit of a dog,¹
 That was his tutor, and the cur
 Read to th' occult philosopher,²
 And taught him subt'ly to maintain
 All other sciences are vain.³ 640

To this, quoth Sidrophello, Sir,
 Agrippa was no conjurer,
 Nor Paracelsus, no, nor Behmen;⁴
 Nor was the dog a caco-dæmon,
 But a true dog that would show tricks 645
 For th' emperor, and leap o'er sticks;
 Would fetch and carry, was more civil
 Than other dogs, but yet no devil;
 And whatsoe'er he's said to do,
 He went the self-same way we go. 650
 As for the Rosy-cross philosophers,
 Whom you will have to be but sorcerers,
 What they pretend to is no more
 Than Trismegistus did before,⁵

Strawberry Hill Collection, turned out to be only a polished piece of cannel coal.

¹ As Paracelsus had a devil confined in the pommel of his sword, so "Agrippa had one tied to his dog's collar," says Erastus. It is probable that the collar had some strange unintelligible characters engraven upon it. Mr Butler (in edit. 1674) has the following note on these lines: "Cornelius Agrippa had a dog that was suspected to be a spirit, for some tricks he was wont to do beyond the capacity of a dog. But the author of *Magia Adamica* has taken a great deal of pains to vindicate both the doctor and the dog from that aspersion; in which he has shown a very great respect and kindness for them both."

² Meaning Agrippa, who wrote a book entitled, *De Occulta Philosophia*. See note at p. 25.

³ Bishop Warburton says, nothing can be more pleasant than this turn given to Agrippa's silly book, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*.

⁴ Jacob Behmen or Böhmen, the inspired shoemaker, and theosophist, of Lusatia, was merely an enthusiast, who deluded himself in common with his followers. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, edited his works and gave them vogue in this country, and there are not wanting admirers of them even at the present day.

⁵ The Egyptian deity Thoth, called Hermes by the Greeks, and Mercury by the Latins, from whom the early chemists pretended to have derived their art, is the mythical personification of almost all that is valuable to man.

Pythagoras, old Zoroaster,¹ 655
 And Apollonius their master,²
 To whom they do confess they owe
 All that they do, and all they know.
 Quoth Hudibras,—Alas, what is't t' us
 Whether 'twere said by Trismegistus, 660
 If it be nonsense, false, or mystick,
 Or not intelligible, or sophistic?
 'Tis not antiquity, nor author,
 That makes Truth truth, altho' Time's daughter;³
 'Twas he that put her in the pit, 665
 Before he pull'd her out of it;⁴

¹ Little is known of Zoroaster, who is supposed to have lived six centuries before the Christian era. Many miracles are attributed to him by the ancient writers, and he is the legendary founder of the religion of the old Persians, and reputed inventor of magic. Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher, flourished about the sixth or seventh century before Christ. He was the scholar of Thales, travelled in Egypt, Chaldea, and other parts of the East, and was initiated into all their mysteries; and at last settled in Italy, where he founded the Italic sect. He commonly expressed himself by symbols. Many incredible stories are reported of him by Diogenes Laertius, Jamblicus, and others.

² Apollonius of Tyana lived in the time of Domitian. Many improbable wonders are related of him by Philostratus; and more are added by subsequent writers. According to these accounts he raised the dead, rendered himself invisible, was seen at Rome and Putcoli on the same day, and proclaimed at Ephesus the murder of Domitian at the very instant of its perpetration at Rome. This last fact is attested by Dio Cassius, the consular historian; who, with the most vehement asseverations, affirms it to be certainly true, though it should be denied a thousand times over. Yet the same Dio elsewhere calls him a cheat and impostor. Dio, lxxviii. ult. et lxxvii. 18. The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, written by Philostratus, has been translated into English by Blount, 1680, and by Berwick, 1809. Sceptics of all ages have been fond of comparing the feats of Apollonius with the miracles of Jesus Christ.

³ The Knight argues that opinions are not always to be received on the authority of a great name; nor does the antiquity of an opinion ever constitute the truth of it.

⁴ Time brings truth to light, although it was time also which had concealed it. It often involves subjects in perplexity, and occasions those very difficulties which afterwards it helps to remove. Bishop Warburton observes, that the satire contained in these lines of our author is fine and just. Cleanthes said that "truth was hid in a pit." "Yes," answers the poet; "but you, Greek philosophers, were the first that put her in there, and then claimed so much merit to yourselves for drawing her out."

And as he eats his sons, just so
 He feeds upon his daughters too.¹
 Nor does it follow, 'cause a herald
 Can make a gentleman, scarce a year old,² 670
 To be descended of a race
 Of ancient kings in a small space,
 That we should all opinions hold
 Authentic, that we can make old.
 Quoth Sidrophel, It is no part 675
 Of prudence to cry down an art,
 And what it may perform, deny,
 Because you understand not why ;
 As Averrhoes play'd but a mean trick,
 To damn our whole art for eccentric,³ 680
 For who knows all that knowledge contains ?
 Men dwell not on the tops of mountains,
 But on their sides, or rising's seat ;
 So 'tis with knowledge's vast height.
 Do not the hist'ries of all ages 685
 Relate miraculous presages
 Of strange turns in the world's affairs,
 Foreseen b' astrologers, soothsayers,
 Chaldeans, learn'd Genethliacks,⁴
 And some that have writ almanacks ? 690

¹ If Truth is "Time's daughter," yet Saturn, or Time, may be none the kinder to her on that account. For, as poets feign that Saturn eats his sons, so he may also be supposed to feed upon his daughters.

² In all civil wars the order of things is subverted ; the poor become rich, and the rich poor. And they who suddenly gain riches seek, in the next place, to be furnished with an honourable pedigree, however fictitious. Many instances of this kind are preserved in Walker's History of Independency, Bate's Lives of the Regicides, &c. But the satire applies to heraldic pedigrees generally.

³ Averrhoes flourished in the twelfth century. He was a great critic, lawyer, and physician ; and one of the most subtle philosophers that ever appeared among the Arabians. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle, from whence he obtained the surname of commentator. He much disliked the epicycles and eccentrics which Ptolemy had introduced into his system ; they seemed so absurd to him, that they gave him a disgust to the science of astronomy in general. He does not seem to have formed a more favourable opinion of astrology, which he condemned as eccentric and fallacious, having no foundation in truth or certainty.

⁴ Genethliaci, or Chaldeans, were soothsayers, who undertook to foretell

The Median emp'ror dream'd his daughter
 Had pist all Asia under water,¹
 And that a vine, sprung from her haunches,
 O'erspread his empire with its branches ;
 And did not soothsayers expound it, 695
 As after by th' event he found it ?
 When Cæsar in the senate fell,
 Did not the sun eclips'd foretell ;
 And in resentment of his slaughter,
 Look'd pale for almost a year after ?² 706
 Augustus having, b' oversight,
 Put on his left shoe 'fore his right,³
 Had like to have been slain that day,
 By soldiers mutin'ing for pay.
 Are there not myriads of this sort, 705
 Which stories of all times report ?
 Is it not ominous in all countries,
 When crows and ravens croak upon trees ?⁴
 The Roman senate, when within
 The city walls an owl was seen,⁵ 710
 Did cause their clergy, with lustrations,
 Our Synod calls Humiliations,

the fortunes of men from circumstances attending their births, by casting their nativities.

¹ Astyages, king of Media, had this dream of his daughter Mandane; and being alarmed at the interpretation which was given of it by the Magi, he married her to Cambyses, a Persian of mean quality. Her son was Cyrus, who fulfilled the dream by the conquest of Asia. See Herodotus, i. 107, and Justin.

² The prodigies, said to have preceded the death of Cæsar, are mentioned by several of the classics, Virgil, Ovid, Plutareh, &c. But the poet alludes to what is related by Pliny in his Natural History, ii. 30. See also Shakspeare for a full account of these prodigies, *Jul. Cæs. Act i. se. 3.*

³ Pliny tells this tale, in his Second Book. See also Suetonius, lib. ii. s. 29. The ascents to temples were always contrived so that the worshippers might set their right foot upon the uppermost step, as the ancients were superstitious in this respect. And we have an old English saying about putting the right foot foremost. (*Handbook of Proverbs, p. 160.*)

⁴ Ravens, crows, magpies, and the like, have always been regarded as birds of ominous appearance. But the omens have been variously interpreted in different ages and countries. In England if they croak against the sun it is for fine weather, if in the water it is for rain. Bishop Hall says, "If you hear but a raven croak from the next roof, make your will."

⁵ See *Julius Obsequens, No. 44, 45, and Lycosthenes, p. 194, 195.*

The round-fac'd prodigy t' avert
 From doing town or country hurt.
 And if an owl have so much pow'r, 715
 Why should not planets have much more,
 That in a region far above
 Inferior fowls of the air move,
 And should see further, and foreknow
 More than their augury below? 720
 Tho' that once serv'd the polity
 Of mighty states to govern by;¹
 And this is what we take in hand,
 By pow'rful art, to understand;
 Which, how we have perform'd, all ages 725
 Can speak th' events of our presages.
 Have we not lately in the moon
 Found a new world, to th' old unknown?²
 Discover'd sea and land, Columbus
 And Magellan could never compass? 730
 Made mountains with our tubes appear,
 And cattle grazing on them there?
 Quoth Hudibras, You lie so ope,
 That I, without a telescope,
 Can find your tricks out, and descry 735
 Where you tell truth and where you lie:
 For Anaxagoras, long agone,
 Saw hills, as well as you, i' th' moon,³

¹ It appears from many passages of Cicero, and other authors, that the determinations of the augurs, aruspices, and the sibylline books, were commonly contrived to promote the ends of government, or to serve the purposes of the chief managers in the commonwealth.

² "The fame of Galileo's observations excited many others to repeat them, and to make maps of the moon's spots." The reference here, except in respect of the "cattle," is to the map of Hevelius in his *Selenographia sive Lunæ Descriptio*. See also the *Cure of Melancholy*, by Democritus, junior, p. 254.

³ See Burnet's *Archæolog.* cap. x. p. 144. Anaxagoras of Clazomene was the first of the Ionic philosophers who maintained that the several parts of the universe were the works of a supreme intelligent being, and consequently did not allow the sun and moon to be gods. On this account he was accused of impiety, and thrown into prison; but released by the intercession of Pericles, who had been one of his pupils. The poet might probably have Bishop Wilkins in view, whose book, maintaining that the moon was a habitable world, and proposing schemes for flying there, went through several editions between 1638 and 1684.

And held the sun was but a piece
 Of red-hot iron as big as Greece;¹ 740
 Believ'd the heav'ns were made of stone,
 Because the sun had voided one;²
 And, rather than he would recant
 Th' opinion, suffer'd banishment.
 But what, alas! is it to us, 745
 Whether i' th' moon, men thus or thus
 Do eat their porridge, cut their corns,
 Or whether they have tails or horns?
 What trade from thence can you advance,
 But what we nearer have from France? 750
 What can our travellers bring home,
 That is not to be learnt at Rome?
 What politics, or strange opinions,
 That are not in our own dominions?
 What science can be brought from thence, 755
 In which we do not here commence?
 What revelations, or religions,
 That are not in our native regions?
 Are sweating-lanterns,³ or screen-fans,
 Made better there than they're in France? 760
 Or do they teach to sing and play,
 O' th' guitar there a newer way?
 Can they make plays there, that shall fit
 The public humour with less wit?

¹ In Butler's Remains we read

For the ancients only took it for a piece
 Of red-hot iron, as big as Peloponese.

Alluding to one of the notions about the moon, attributed, no doubt falsely, to Anaxagoras. See his Life in Diogenes Laertius (Bohn's edit. p. 59, *et seq.*).

² Anaxagoras had foretold that a large stone would fall from heaven, and it was supposed to have been found soon afterwards near Ægospotamos. The fall of the stone is recorded in the Arundelian marbles.

³ These lanterns, as the poet calls them, were boxes, wherein the whole body was placed, together with a lamp. They were used by quacks, in a certain disease, to bring on perspiration. See Swift's Works, vol. vi. Pethox the Great, v. 56, Hawkesworth's edition. Screen fans were used to shade the eyes from the fire, and commonly hung by the side of the chimney; sometimes ladies carried them along with them: they were made of ornamented leather, paper, straw, or feathers.

Write wittier dances, quantier shows, 765
 Or fight with more ingenious blows ?
 Or does the man i' th' moon look big,
 And wear a huger periwig,
 Show in his gait or face more tricks,
 Than our own native lunaticks ?¹ 770
 But, if w' outdo him here at home,
 What good of your design can come ?
 As wind, i' th' hypocondres pent,²
 Is but a blast, if downward sent ;
 But if it upward chance to fly, 775
 Becomes new light and prophecy ;³
 So when our speculations tend
 Above their just and useful end,
 Altho' they promise strange and great
 Discoveries of things far fet, 780

¹ These and the foregoing lines were a satire upon the gait, dress, and carriage of the fops and beaux of those days. Long perukes had some years previously been introduced in France, and in our poet's time had come into great vogue in England.

² In the belly, under the short ribs. These lines were cleverly turned into Latin by Dr Harmer.

Sic hypocondriacis inclusa meatibus aura
 Desinet in crepitum, si fertur prona per alvum ;
 Sed si summa petat, mentisque invaserit arcem
 Divinus furor est, et conscia flamma futuri.

The subject seems to have afforded scope, or rather "given vent," to the wit of the day. In *Dornavii Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ joco-seriæ*, Hanov. 1619, are several early pieces "de peditu," and a merry English writer gives the following joco-scientific definition of it. "A nitro-aërial vapour, exhaled from an adjacent pond of stagnant water, of a saline nature, and rarefied and sublimed into the nose of a microscopical alembic by the general heat of a stercorarius balneum, with a strong empyreuma, and forced through the posteriors by the compressive power of the compulsive faculty."

³ New light was a phrase coined at that time, and used ever since for any new opinion in religion. In the north of Ireland, where the dissenters are chiefly divided into two sects, they are distinguished as the old and the new lights. The old lights are such as rigidly adhere to the old Calvinistic doctrine ; and the new lights are those who have adopted the more modern latitudinarian opinions: these are frequently hostile to each other, as their predecessors the Presbyterians and Independents were in the time of the Civil Wars.

They are but idle dreams and fancies,
 And savour strongly of the ganzas.¹
 Tell me but what's the natural cause,
 Why on a sign no painter draws
 The full moon ever, but the half;— 785
 Resolve that with your Jacob's staff; ²
 Or why wolves raise a hubbub at her,
 And dogs howl when she shines in water;
 And I shall freely give my vote,
 You may know something more remote. 790
 At this, deep Sidrophel look'd wise,
 And staring round with owl-like eyes,
 He put his face into a posture
 Of sapience, and began to bluster;
 For having three times shook his head 795
 To stir his wit up, thus he said:
 Art has no mortal enemies,³
 Next ignorance, but owls and geese:
 Those consecrated geese, in orders,
 That to the Capitol were warders,⁴ 800
 And being then upon patrol,
 With noise alone beat off the Gaul;
 Or those Athenian sceptic owls,
 That will not credit their own souls,⁵

¹ Godwin, afterwards bishop of Hereford, wrote in his youth, a kind of astronomical romance, under the feigned name of Domingo Gonzales, and entitled it *The Man in the Moon, or a Discourse on a Voyage thither* (published London, 1638). It gives an account of his being drawn up to the moon in a light vehicle, by certain birds called ganzas, a Spanish word for *geese*. The Knight here censures the pretensions of Sidrophel by comparing them with this wild expedition. The poet likewise might intend to banter some of the aërial projects of the learned Bishop Wilkins.

² A mathematical instrument for taking the heights and distances of stars.

³ "Et quod vulgo aiunt, artem non habere inimicum nisi ignorantem." Sprat thought it necessary to write many pages to show that natural philosophy was not likely to subvert our government, or our religion; and that experimental knowledge had no tendency to make men either bad subjects or bad Christians. See Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

⁴ The garrison of a castle were called warders. The tale of the defeat of the night attack on the Capitol through the cackling of the sacred geese of Juno, is well known. See Livy's *Roman Hist.* Book v. c. 77.

⁵ Incredulous persons. He calls them owls because that bird was the emblem of wisdom; and Athenian, because that bird was sacred to Minerva,

Or any science understand, 805
 Beyond the reach of eye or hand ;
 But measuring all things by their own
 Knowledge, hold nothing's to be known :
 Those wholesale critics, that in coffee-
 Houses cry down all philosophy, 810
 And will not know upon what ground
 In nature we our doctrine found,
 Altho' with pregnant evidence
 We can demonstrate it to sense,
 As I just now have done to you, 815
 Foretelling what you came to know.
 Were the stars only made to light
 Robbers and burglars by night ? ¹
 To wait on drunkards, thieves, gold-finders,
 And lovers solacing behind doors ? 820
 Or giving one another pledges
 Of matrimony under hedges ?
 Or witches simpling, and on gibbets
 Cutting from malefactors snippets ? ²
 Or from the pill'ry tips of ears 825
 Of rebel-saints and perjurers ?
 Only to stand by, and look on,
 But not know what is said or done ?
 Is there a constellation there
 That was not born and bred up here ; 830
 And therefore cannot be to learn
 In any inferior concern ?

the protectress of Athens. Since the owl, however, is usually considered a moping, drowsy bird, the poet intimates that the knowledge of these sceptics is obscure, confused, and undigested. The meaning of the whole passage is : that there are two sorts of men, who are great enemies to the advancement of science ; the first, bigoted divines, who, upon hearing of any new discovery in nature, apprehend an attack upon religion, and proclaim loudly that the Capitol, i. e. the faith of the church, is in danger ; the others, self-sufficient philosophers, who lay down arbitrary principles, and reject every truth which does not coincide with them.

¹ Sidrophel argues, that so many luminous bodies could never have been constructed for the sole purpose of affording a little light, in the absence of the sun ; but his reasoning does not contribute much to the support of astrology.

² Collecting herbs, and other requisites, for their enchantments. See Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, Act iv.

Were they not, during all their lives,
 Most of 'em pirates, whores, and thieves ?
 And is it like they have not still 835
 In their old practices some skill ?
 Is there a planet that by birth
 Does not derive its house from earth ;
 And therefore probably must know
 What is, and hath been done below ? 840
 Who made the Balance, or whence came
 The Bull, the Lion, and the Ram ?
 Did not we here the Argo rig,
 Make Berenice's periwig ?¹
 Whose liv'ry does the Coachman² wear ? 845
 Or who made Cassiopeia's chair ?³
 And therefore, as they came from hence,
 With us may hold intelligence.
 Plato deny'd the world can be
 Govern'd without geometry,⁴ 850
 For money b'ing the common scale
 Of things by measure, weight, and tale,
 In all th' affairs of church and state,
 'Tis both the balance and the weight :
 Then much less can it be without 855
 Divine astrology made out,
 That puts the other down in worth,
 As far as heaven's above earth.

These reasons, quoth the Knight, I grant
 Are something more significant 860
 Than any that the learned use
 Upon this subject to produce ;

¹ Meaning the constellation called Coma Berenices. Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt, made a vow when her husband undertook his expedition into Syria, that if he returned safe she would cut off and dedicate her hair to Venus, and this, on his return, she fulfilled. The offering by some accident being lost, Conon, the mathematician, to soothe her feelings, declared that her hair was carried up to heaven, where it was formed into seven stars, near the tail of the Lion. Hence the constellation of this name.

² The constellation Auriga, near that of Cassiopeia ; which lies near those of Cepheus, Perseus, and Andromeda.

³ A constellation in the northern hemisphere, consisting of 55 stars.

⁴ Plato, out of fondness for geometry, employed it in all his systems. He used to say that the Deity governed the world on geometrical principles, performing everything by weight and measure.

And yet they're far from satisfactory,
 T' establish and keep up your factory.
 Th' Egyptians say, the sun has twice ¹ 865
 Shifted his setting and his rise ;
 Twice has he risen in the west,
 As many times set in the east ;
 But whether that be true or no,
 The devil any of you know. 870
 Some hold, the heavens, like a top,
 Are kept by circulation up,²
 And were't not for their wheeling round,
 They'd instantly fall to the ground :
 As sage Empedocles of old,³ 875
 And from him modern authors hold.
 Plato believ'd the sun and moon
 Below all other planets run.⁴
 Some Mercury, some Venus seat
 Above the sun himself in height. 880

¹ The Egyptian priests informed Herodotus that, in the space of 11,340 years, the sun had four times risen and set out of its usual course, rising twice where it now sets, and setting twice where it now rises. See Herodotus (Bohn's transl. p. 152). Spenser alludes to this supposed miracle in his *Fairy Queen*, book v. c. 1, stanza 6, *et seq.* Such a phænomenon might have been observed by some who had ventured beyond the equator, to the south, exploring the continent of Africa; for there, to any one standing with his face to the sun at noon, it would appear that the sun had risen on his *right* hand, and was about to set on his *left*.

² It is mentioned as one of the opinions of Anaxagoras, that the heaven was composed of stone, and was kept up by violent circumrotation, but would fall when the rapidity of that motion should be remitted. Some do Anaxagoras the honour to suppose, that this conceit of his, gave the first hint towards the modern theory of the planetary motions.

³ Empedocles was a philosopher of Agrigentum, in Sicily, of the 5th cent. B. C. He was equally famous for his knowledge of natural history and medicine, and as a poet and a statesman; and it is generally related that he threw himself into Mount Etna, so that by suddenly disappearing he might establish his claim to divinity, but Diogenes Laertius gives a more rational account of his death. He maintained the motions of the sun and the planets; but held that the stars were composed of fire, and fixed in a crystal sphere, and that the sun was a body of fire. Some of these opinions are embodied in Shakspeare's familiar lines:

"Doubt that the stars are fire
 Doubt that the sun doth move," &c.

⁴ The Knight further argues, that there can be no foundation for truth in astrology, since the learned differ so much about the planets themselves, from which astrologers chiefly drew their predictions.

The learned Scaliger complain'd
 'Gainst what Copernicus maintain'd,¹
 That in twelve hundred years, and odd,²
 The sun had left his ancient road,
 And nearer to the Earth is come, 885
 'Bove fifty thousand miles from home :
 Swore 'twas a most notorious flam,
 And he that had so little shame
 To vent such fopperies abroad,
 Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd : 890
 Which Monsieur Bodin hearing, swore
 That he deserv'd the rod much more,³
 That durst upon a truth give doom,
 He knew less than the pope of Rome.⁴
 Cardan believ'd great states depend 895
 Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end ;⁵
 That as she whisk'd it t'wards the sun,
 Strow'd mighty empires up and down ;

¹ Copernicus thought that the eccentricity of the sun, or the obliquity of the ecliptic, had been diminished by many parts since the times of Ptolemy and Hipparchus. On which Scaliger observed that the writings of Copernicus deserved a sponge, or their author a rod.

² Instead of this and the seven following lines, the editions of 1664 read :

About the sun's and earth's approach,
 And swore that he, that dar'd to broach
 Such paltry fopperies abroad,
 Deserv'd to have his rump well claw'd.

³ John Bodin, an eminent geographer and lawyer, born at Angers, died at Laon, 1596, aged 67. He agreed with Copernicus, and other famous astronomers, that the circle of the earth had approached nearer to the sun than it was formerly. He was alternately superstitious and sceptical; and is said to have been at different times, a Protestant, a Papist, a deist, a sorcerer, a Jew, and an atheist.

⁴ *Var.* He knew no more than th' pope of Rome, in the editions of 1664.

⁵ Cardan, a physician and astrologer, born at Pavia, 1501. He held that particular stars influenced particular countries, and that the fate of the greatest kingdoms in Europe was determined by the tail of Ursa Major. He cast the nativity of Edward VI., and foretold his death, it is said, correctly. He then foretold the time of his own death, and when the day drew near, finding himself in perfect health, he starved himself to death, rather than disgrace his science. Scaliger said that in certain things he appeared superior to human understanding, and in a great many others inferior to that of little children. See Bayle's *Dict.* Tennemann's *History of Philosophy*, p. 263.

Which others say must needs be false,
 Because your true bears have no tails.¹ 900
 Some say, the zodiac constellations²
 Have long since chang'd their antique stations³
 Above a sign, and prove the same
 In Taurus now, once in the Ram;
 Affirm'd the Trignons chopp'd and chang'd, 905
 The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd;⁴
 Then how can their effects still hold
 To be the same they were of old?
 This, though the art were true, would make
 Our modern soothsayers mistake,⁵ 910
 And is one cause they tell more lies,
 In figures and nativities,
 Than th' old Chaldean conjurers,
 In so many hundred thousand years;⁶
 Beside their nonsense in translating, 915
 For want of accidance and Latin;

¹ This was a vulgar error, originating in the shortness of the bear's tail.

² In the editions of 1664, this and the following lines stand thus:

Some say the stars i' th' zodiac
 Are more than a whole sign gone back
 Since Ptolemy; and prove the same
 In Taurus now, then in the Ram.

The alteration was made in the edition of 1674.

³ The Knight, still further to lessen the credit of astrology, observes that the stars have suffered a considerable variation of their longitude, by the precession of the equinoxes; for instance, the first star of Aries, which in the time of Meton the Athenian was found in the very intersection of the ecliptic and equator, is now removed eastward more than thirty degrees, so that the sign Aries possesses the place of Taurus, Taurus that of Gemini, and so on.

⁴ The twelve signs are in astrology divided into four trigons, each named after one of the four elements: accordingly there are three fiery, three airy, three watery, and three earthy.

Fiery—Aries, Leo, Sagittarius.
 Earthly—Taurus, Virgo, Capricornus.
 Airy—Gemini, Libra, Aquarius.
 Watery—Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces.

⁵ See Dr Bentley's Boyle Lectures. Sermon iii.

⁶ The Chaldeans, as Cicero remarks, pretended to have been in possession of astrological knowledge for the space of 47,000 years.

Like *Idus* and *Calendæ* Englisht
 The Quarter-days, by skilful linguist.¹
 And yet with canting, slight, and cheat,
 'Twill serve their turn to do the feat ; 920
 Make fools believe in their foreseeing
 Of things before they are in being ;
 To swallow gudgeons ere they're catch'd,
 And count their chickens ere they're hatch'd ;²
 Make them the constellations prompt, 925
 And give 'em back their own account ;
 But still the best to him that gives
 The best price for't, or best believes.
 Some towns and cities, some for brevity,
 Have cast the 'versal world's nativity, 930
 And made the infant stars confess,
 Like fools or children, what they please.
 Some calculate the hidden fates
 Of monkeys, puppy-dogs, and cats ;
 Some running nags, and fighting-cocks, 935
 Some love, trade, law-suits, and the pox :
 Some take a measure of the lives
 Of fathers, mothers, husbands, wives ;
 Make opposition, trine, and quartile,
 Tell who is barren, and who fertile ; 940
 As if the planet's first aspect
 The tender infant did infect³

¹ Mr Smith, of Harleston, says this is probably a banter upon Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of Horace, *Epod.* ii. 69, 70.

Omnem relegit idibus pecuniam,
 Quærit calendis ponere.

At Michaelmas calls all his monies in,
 And at our Lady puts them out again.

The 15th of March, May, July, and October, and the 13th of all other months, were the Ides. The 1st of every month was the Calends.

² Handbook of Proverbs, pp. 81, &c. See also L'Estrange's Fables, Part ii. fab. 205, and Spectator, No. 535.

³ The accent is laid upon the last syllable of aspect. Astrologers reckon five aspects of the planets: conjunction, sextile, quartile, trine, and opposition. Sextile denotes their being distant from each other a sixth part of a circle, or two signs; quartile, a fourth part, or three signs; trine, a third part, or four signs; opposition, half the circle, or directly opposite. It was the opinion of judicial astrologers, that whatever good disposition the infant might otherwise have been endued with, yet if its birth was, by any

In soul and body, and instil
 All future good and future ill ;
 Which in their dark fatal'ties lurking, 945
 At destin'd periods fall a working,
 And break out, like the hidden seeds
 Of long diseases, into deeds,
 In friendships, enmities, and strife,
 And all th' emergencies of life : 950
 No sooner does he peep into
 The world, but he has done his do,
 Catch'd all diseases, took all physick,
 That cures or kills a man that is sick ;
 Marry'd his punctual dose of wives,¹ 955
 Is cuckolded, and breaks, or thrives.
 There's but the twinkling of a star
 Between a man of peace and war ;
 A thief and justice, fool and knave,
 A huffing off'cer and a slave ; 960
 A crafty lawyer and pick-pocket,
 A great philosopher and a blockhead ;
 A formal preacher and a player,
 A learn'd physician and man-slayer :
 As if men from the stars did suck 965
 Old age, diseases, and ill luck,
 Wit, folly, honour, virtue, vice,
 Trade, travel, women, claps, and dice ;
 And draw, with the first air they breathe,
 Battle, and murder, sudden death.² 970
 Are not these fine commodities
 To be imported from the skies,

accident, so accelerated or retarded, that it fell in with the predominance of a malignant constellation, this momentary influence would entirely change its nature, and bias it to all contrary ill qualities. See a fine banter on this foolish notion, in Hotspur's reply to Glendower's astrology, in *Henry the Fourth*, Part I. Act iii.

¹ "Punctual dose" is the precise number of wives to which he was predestined by the planetary influence predominant at his birth. An old proverb says, the first confers matrimony, the second company, the third heresy.

² This is one of the petitions in the litany, which the dissenters objected to; especially the words sudden death. See *Bennet's London Cases abridged*, ch. iv. p. 100.

And vended here among the rabble,
 For staple goods, and warrantable?
 Like money by the Druids borrow'd,
 In th' other world to be restored.¹ 975

Quoth Sidrophel, To let you know
 You wrong the art and artists too:
 Since arguments are lost on those
 That do our principles oppose, 980
 I will, altho' I've don't before,
 Demonstrate to your sense once more,
 And draw a figure that shall tell you
 What you, perhaps, forget befell you;
 By way of horary inspection,² 985
 Which some account our worst erection.

With that, he circles draws, and squares,
 With cyphers, astral characters,
 Then looks 'em o'er to understand 'em,
 Altho' set down hab-nab at random.³ 990

Quoth he, This scheme of th' heavens set,
 Discovers how in fight you met,
 At Kingston, with a may-pole idol,⁴
 And that y' were bang'd both back and side well;

¹ That is, astrologers, by endeavouring to persuade men that the stars have dealt out to them their future fortunes, are guilty of a similar fraud with the Druids, who borrowed money on a promise of repaying it after death. This practice among the Druids was founded on their doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Purchas speaks of some who barter with the people upon bills of exchange to be paid a hundred for one, in heaven.

² The horoscope is the point of the heavens which rises above the eastern horizon, at any particular moment.

³ Nares says, *habbe* or *nabbe*; have or have not, hit or miss, at a venture: quasi, *have* or *n'ave*, i. e. have not; as *nill* for will not. "The citizens in their rage imagining that every post in the church had bin one of their souldyers, shot *habbe* or *nabbe*, at random." Holinshed, Hist. of Ireland. F. 2, col. 2.

⁴ Butler here alludes to the spurious second part of *Hudibras*, published 1663. The first annotator informs us that "there was a notorious idiot, here described by the name of *Whacum*; who had counterfeited a second part of *Hudibras*, as untowardly as Captain *Po*, who could not write himself, and yet made shift to stand in the Pillory for forging other men's hands, as this fellow *Whacum* no doubt deserved. In this spurious production, the rencounters of *Hudibras* at Brentford, the transactions of a mountebank whom he met with, and probably these adventures of the may-pole at Kingston, are described at length. By drawing on that spurious pub-

And tho' you overcame the bear, 995
 The dogs beat you at Brentford fair ;
 Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,
 And handled you like a fop-doodle.¹

Quoth Hudibras, I now perceive
 You are no conj'rer, by your leave ; 1000
 That paltry story is untrue,
 And forg'd to cheat such gulls as you.

Not true ? quoth he ; howe'er you vapour,
 I can what I affirm make appear ;
 Whachum shall justify't to your face, 1005
 And prove he was upon the place :
 He play'd the saltinbancho's part,²
 Transform'd t' a Frenchman by my art ;
 He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket,
 Chous'd and caldes'd you like a blockhead,³ 1010
 And what you lost I can produce,
 If you deny it, here i' the house.

Quoth Hudibras, I do believe
 That argument's demonstrative ;
 Ralpho, bear witness, and go fetch us 1015
 A constable to seize the wretches :
 For tho' they're both false knaves and cheats,
 Impostors, jugglers, counterfeits,
 I'll make them serve for perpendic'lars,
 As true as e'er were us'd by bricklayers :⁴ 1020
 They're guilty, by their own confessions,
 Of felony, and at the sessions,
 Upon the bench I will so handle 'em,
 That the vibration of this pendulum

lication for incidents in our hero's life, the astrologer betrays his ignorance of the facts, and Butler ingeniously contrives to publish the cheat.

¹ That is, a silly, vain, empty-pated fellow.

² Saltimbanque is a French word, signifying a quack or mountebank. Perhaps it was originally Italian.

³ Caldes'd is a word of the poet's own coining, and signifies, in the opinion of Warburton, "putting the fortune-teller upon you," as the Chaldeans were great fortune-tellers. Others suppose it may be derived from the Caldees, or Culdees. In Butler's Remains, vol. i. 24, it seems to mean hoodwinked or blinded.

Asham'd that men so grave and wise
 Should be chaldes'd by gnats and flies.

⁴ i. e. perfectly true or upright, like a bricklayer's plumb-line.

| | |
|--|------|
| Shall make all tailors yards of one Unanimous opinion : ¹ | 1025 |
| A thing he long has vapour'd of, But now shall make it out by proof. | |
| Quoth Sidrophel, I do not doubt To find friends that will bear me out : ² | 1030 |
| Nor have I hazarded my art, And neck, so long on the State's part, To be expos'd i' th' end to suffer By such a braggadocio huffer. ³ | |
| Huffer! quoth Hudibras, this sword Shall down thy false throat cram that word. | 1035 |
| Ralphe, make haste, and call an officer, To apprehend this Stygian sophister ; ⁴ Meanwhile I'll hold 'em at a bay, Lest he and Whachum run away. | 1040 |

¹ The device of the vibration of a pendulum was intended to settle a certain measure of ells, yards, &c., all the world over, which should have its foundation in nature. For by swinging a weight at the end of a string, and calculating, by the motion of the sun or any star, how long the vibration would last, in proportion to the length of the string and weight of the pendulum, they thought to reduce it back again, and from any part of time compute the exact length of any string, that must necessarily vibrate for such a period of time. So that if a man should ask in China for a quarter of an hour of satin or taffeta, they would know perfectly well what he meant; and the measure of things would be reckoned no more by the yard, foot, or inch, but by the hour, quarter, and minute. See Butler's Remains by Thyer, vol. i. p. 30, for the following illustration of this notion :

By which he had composed a pedlar's jargon,
For all the world to learn and use to bargain,
An universal canting idiom
To understand the swinging pendulum,
And to communicate in all designs
With th' Eastern virtuoso mandarines.

Elephant in the Moon.

The moderns perhaps will not be more successful in their endeavours to establish a universal standard of weights and measures.

² William Lilly wrote and prophesied for the Parliament, till he perceived their influence decline. He then changed sides, but having declared himself rather too soon, he was taken into custody; and escaped only, as he tells us himself, by the interference of friends, and by cancelling the offensive leaf in his almanack.

³ Huff means to bully or brow-beat.

⁴ i. e. *hellish* sophister.

But Sidrophel, who from the aspect
 Of Hudibras, did now erect
 A figure worse portending far,
 Than that of most malignant star ;
 Believ'd it now the fittest moment 1045
 To shun the danger that might come on't,
 While Hudibras was all alone,
 And he and Whachum, two to one :
 This being resolv'd, he spy'd by chance,
 Behind the door an iron lance,¹ 1050
 That many a sturdy limb had gor'd,
 And legs, and loins, and shoulders bor'd ;
 He snatch'd it up, and made a pass,
 To make his way thro' Hudibras.
 Whachum had got a fire-fork,² 1055
 With which he vow'd to do his work ;
 But Hudibras was well prepar'd,
 And stoutly stood upon his guard :
 He put by Sidrophello's thrust,
 And in right manfully he rusht, 1060
 The weapon from his gripe he wrung,
 And laid him on the earth along.
 Whachum his sea-coal prong threw by,
 And basely turn'd his back to fly ;
 But Hudibras gave him a twitch 1065
 As quick as lightning in the breech,
 Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,³
 As wise philosophers have judg'd ;
 Because a kick in that part more
 Hurts honour, than deep wounds before. 1070
 Quoth Hudibras, The stars determine
 You are my prisoners, base vermin.
 Could they not tell you so, as well
 As what I came to know, foretell ?

¹ A spit for roasting meat.

² Spelt "fiër-fork" in the old editions, so as to make fire a dissyllable.

³ Butler, in his speech at the Rota, says (Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 323) : "Some are of opinion that honour is seated in the rump only, chiefly at least: for it is observed, that a small kick on that part does more hurt and wound honour than a cut on the head or face, or a stab, or a shot of a pistol, on any other part of the body."

By this, what cheats you are, we find, 1075
 That in your own concerns are blind.¹
 Your lives are now at my dispose,
 To be redeem'd by fine or blows :
 But who his honour would defile,
 To take, or sell, two lives so vile ? 1080
 I'll give you quarter ; but your pillage,
 The conqu'ring warrior's crop and tillage,
 Which with his sword he reaps and plows,
 That's mine, the law of arms allows.
 This said in haste, in haste he fell 1085
 To rummaging of Sidrophel.
 First, he expounded both his pockets,
 And found a watch with rings and lockets,
 Which had been left with him t'erect
 A figure for, and so detect. 1090
 A copper-plate with a manacks
 Engrav'd upon't, with other knacks²
 Of Booker's, Lilly's, Sarah Jimmers',³
 And blank schemes to discover nimmers ;⁴
 A moon-dial, with Napier's bones,⁵ 1095
 And sev'ral constellation stones,

¹ "Astrologers," says Agrippa, "while they gaze on the stars for direction, fall into ditches, wells, and gaols," that is, while they foretell what is to happen to others, cannot tell what will happen to themselves. The crafty Tiberius, not content with a promise of empire, examined the astrologer concerning his own horoscope, intending to drown him on the least appearance of falsehood. But Thrasyllus was too cunning for him, and immediately answered "that he perceived himself at that instant to be in imminent danger;" and added, "that he was destined to die just ten years before the emperor himself." Tacit. Ann. vi. 21; Dio. lvi. 27.

² That is, marks or signs belonging to the astrologer's art. *Knack* also signifies a bauble.

³ Three astrologers. John Booker was born at Manchester in 1601, and after being apprenticed to a haberdasher, became clerk first to a justice of the peace and afterwards to a London alderman. He is said to have had great skill in judging of thefts. Lilly has frequently been mentioned. Sarah Jimmers, called by Lilly, Sarah Skilhorn, was a great speculatrix, or *medium*, as she would now be called. She was celebrated for the power of her eyes in looking into a speculum, and Lilly tells a strange story of angels showing her a red waistcoat being taken out of a trunk at 12 miles distance and the day before the act.

⁴ From the Anglo-Saxon *niman*, meaning thieves or pilferers.

⁵ Lord Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of Logarithms, also invented

Engrav'd in planetary hours,
 That over mortals had strange powers
 To make them thrive in law or trade,
 And stab or poison to evade; 1100
 In wit or wisdom to improve,
 And be victorious in love.
 Whachum had neither cross nor pile,¹
 His plunder was not worth the while;
 All which the conqu'ror did discompt, 1105
 To pay for curing of his rump.
 But Sidrophel, as full of tricks
 As Rota-men of politics,²
 Straight cast about to over-reach
 Th' unwary conqu'ror with a fetch, 1110
 And make him glad at least to quit
 His victory, and fly the pit,
 Before the secular prince of darkness³
 Arriv'd to seize upon his carcass:
 And, as a fox with hot pursuit,⁴ 1115
 Chas'd through a warren, cast about
 To save his credit, and among
 Dead vermin on a gallows hung,

a contrivance for performing multiplication. The numbers were marked on little square rods, which, being made of ivory, were called Napier's bones. His lordship was one of the early members of the Royal Society, which the poet takes frequent occasions to banter.

¹ Money frequently bore a cross on one side, and the head of a spear or arrow (*pilum*) on the other. *Cross* and *pile* were our heads and tails. Thus Swift says, "This I humbly conceive to be perfect boy's play; *cross*, I win, and *pile*, you lose."

² Harrington, having devised the scheme of popular government which is described in his *Oceana*, endeavoured to promote it by a club, of which Henry Nevil, Charles Wolseley, John Wildman, and Doctor (afterwards Sir William) Petty, were members, which met in New Palace-yard, Westminster. This club was called the Rota, in consequence of a proposal that, in the projected House of Commons, a third part of the members should "rote out by ballot every year," and be ineligible for three years.

³ The constable who keeps the peace at night.

⁴ Olaus Magnus has related many such stories of the fox's cunning: his imitating the barking of a dog; feigning himself dead; ridding himself of fleas, by going gradually into the water with a lock of wool in his mouth, and when the fleas are driven into it, leaving the wool in the water; catching crab-fish with his tail, all of which the author avers to be truth on his own knowledge. *Ol. Mag. Hist. i. 18.*

And while the dogs ran underneath,
 Escap'd, by counterfeiting death, 1120
 Not out of cunning, but a train
 Of atoms justling in his brain,¹
 As learn'd philosophers give out ;
 So Sidrophello cast about,
 And fell to 's wonted trade again, 1125
 To feign himself in earnest slain :²
 First stretch'd out one leg, then another,
 And, seeming in his breast to smother
 A broken sigh, quoth he, Where am I ?
 Alive, or dead ? or which way came I 1130
 Thro' so immense a space so soon ?
 But now I thought myself i' th' moon ;
 And that a monster with huge whiskers,
 More formidable than a Switzer's,
 My body thro' and thro' had drill'd, 1135
 And Whachum by my side had kill'd,
 Had cross-examin'd both our hose,³
 And plunder'd all we had to lose ;
 Look, there he is, I see him now,
 And feel the place I am run thro' : 1140
 And there lies Whachum by my side,
 Stone dead and in his own blood dy'd,
 Oh ! oh ! With that he fetch'd a groan,
 And fell again into a swoon ;
 Shut both his eyes, and stopt his breath, 1145
 And to the life out-acted death,
 That Hudibras, to all appearing,
 Believ'd him to be dead as herring.⁴

¹ The ancient atomic philosophers, Democritus, Epicurus, &c., held that sense in brutes, and cogitation and volition in men, were produced by the impression of corporeal atoms on the brain. But the author perhaps meant to ridicule Sir Kenelm Digby, who relates this story of the fox, and maintains that there was no thought or cunning in it, but merely a particular disposition of atoms.

² See the scene of Falstaff's counterfeited death, Shakspeare, Henry IV., Part I. Act v.

³ Trunk-hose with pockets to them.

⁴ Shakspeare refers to this proverb in Merry Wives, II. 3. See also Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, p. 187.

He held it now no longer safe,
 To tarry the return of Ralph, 1150
 But rather leave him in the lurch :¹
 Thought he, he has abus'd our church,²
 Refused to give himself one firr,
 To carry on the Public work ;
 Despis'd our Synod-men like dirt, 1155
 And made their Discipline his sport ;
 Divulg'd the secrets of their Classes,
 And their Conventions prov'd high places ;³
 Disparag'd their tithe-pigs, as pagan,
 And set at nought their cheese and bacon ; 1160
 Rail'd at their Covenant,⁴ and jeer'd
 Their rev'rend parsons, to my beard ;
 For all which scandals, to be quit
 At once, this juncture falls out fit.
 I'll make him henceforth to beware, 1165
 And tempt my fury, if he dare :
 He must, at least, hold up his hand,⁵
 By twelve freeholders to be scann'd ;
 Who by their skill in palmistry,⁶
 Will quickly read his destiny, 1170
 And make him glad to read his lesson,
 Or take a turn for't at the session :⁷
 Unless his Light and Gifts prove truer
 Than ever yet they did, I'm sure ;
 For if he 'scape with whipping now, 1175
 'Tis more than he can hope to do :

¹ The different sects of dissenters left each other in the lurch, whenever an opportunity offered of promoting their own separate interest. In this instance they made a separate peace with the King, as soon as they found that the Independents were playing their own game.

² This and the following lines show that Hudibras represents the Presbyterians, and Ralpho the Independents, all the principal words being party catchwords.

³ That is, corruptions in discipline. "When the devil tempted Christ he set him upon the highest pinnacle of the temple. Great preferments are great temptations." Butler's Remains.

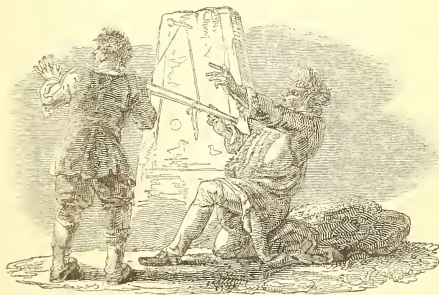
⁴ The Independents called the Covenant an almanack out of date.

⁵ Culprits, when they are tried, hold up their hands at the bar.

⁶ Cheiromancy, or telling fortunes by inspection of lines in the palm of the hand.

⁷ That is, claim the benefit of clergy, or be hanged.

And that will disengage my conscience
Of th' obligation, in his own sense :
I'll make him now by force abide,
What he by gentle means deny'd, 1180
To give my honour satisfaction,
And right the brethren in the action.
This being resolv'd, with equal speed
And conduct, he approach'd his steed,
And with activity unwont, 1185
Essay'd the lofty beast to mount ;
Which once atchiev'd, he spurr'd his palfry,
To get from th' enemy and Ralph free ;
Left dangers, fears, and foes behind,
And beat, at least three lengths, the wind. 1190





AN HEROICAL EPISTLE

OF

HUDIBRAS TO SIDROPHEL.¹

Ecce iterum Crispinus.

WELL, Sidrophel, tho' 'tis in vain
To tamper with your crazy brain,
Without trepanning of your skull,²
As often as the moon's at full,
'Tis not amiss, ere ye're giv'n o'er, 5
To try one desp'rate med'cine more;
For where your case can be no worse,
The desp'rat'st is the wisest course.

¹ This Epistle was not published till many years after the preceding canto, and does not refer to the character there described. Sidrophel in the poem is, most probably, William Lilly, the astrologer and almanack-maker. But the Sidrophel of this Epistle is said to have been Sir Paul Nile, a conceited virtuoso, and member of the Royal Society. See note on line 86, *post*. The name Sidrophel had become proverbial for ignorance and imposture, when the Epistle was written.

² A surgical operation to remove part of the skull when it presses upon the brain. It was said to restore the understanding, and in that sense proposed as a remedy for the disorder with which Dean Swift was afflicted.

Is't possible that you, whose ears
 Are of the tribe of Issachar's,¹ 10
 And might with equal reason, either
 For merit. or extent of leather,
 With William Pryn's,² before they were
 Retrench'd, and crucify'd, compare,
 Shou'd yet be deaf against a noise 15
 So roaring as the public voice?
 That speaks your virtues free and loud,
 And openly in ev'ry crowd,
 As loud as one that sings his part
 T' a wheel-barrow, or turnip-cart, 20
 Or your new nick-nam'd old invention
 To cry green-hastings with an engine;³
 As if the vehemence had stunn'd,
 And torn your drum-heads with the sound;⁴
 And 'cause your folly's now no news, 25
 But overgrown, and out of use,
 Persuade yourself there's no such matter,⁵
 But that 'tis vanish'd out of nature;
 When folly, as it grows in years,
 The more extravagant appears; 30
 For who but you could be possess'd
 With so much ignorance and beast,
 That neither all men's scorn and hate,
 Nor being laugh'd and pointed at,
 Nor bray'd so often in a mortar,⁶ 35
 Can teach you wholesome sense and nurture,

¹ Genesis xlix. 14: "Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens."

² See Part III. Canto II. 841, and note.

³ In former times, and indeed until the beginning of the present century, the earliest peas brought to the London market came from Hastings, where they were grown, it may be said forced, in exhausted lime-pits. These used to be cried about the streets by hawkers with steutorian voice, "Green-hastings O." In Butler's time these hawkers may have helped their lungs with a speaking pipe, in which case this passage would point at Sir Samuel Morland's speaking-trumpet, then recently invented.

⁴ Drum-heads, that is, the drum of your ears.

⁵ i. e. is it possible that you should *persuade yourself*?

⁶ That is, pounded. "Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him." Prov. xxvii. 22.

But, like a reprobate, what course
 Soever us'd, grow worse and worse ?
 Can no transfusion of the blood,
 That makes fools cattle, do you good ?¹ 40
 Nor putting pigs t' a bitch to nurse,
 To turn them into mongrel curs ;²
 Put you into a way, at least,
 To make yourself a better beast ?
 Can all your critical intrigues, 45
 Of trying sound from rotten eggs ;³
 Your sev'ral new-found remedies,
 Of curing wounds and scabs in trees ;
 Your art for fluxing them for claps,
 And purging their infected saps ; 50
 Recovering shankers, crystallines,
 And nodes and blotches in their reins,
 Have no effect to operate
 Upon that duller block, your pate ?
 But still it must be lewdly bent 55
 To tempt your own due punishment ;
 And, like your whimsy'd chariots,⁴ draw
 The boys to course you without law ;⁵

¹ In the last century some scientific members of the Royal Society made experiments in transfusing the blood of one animal into the veins of another ; and, according to their account, the operation produced beneficial effects. It was even performed on human subjects. Dr Mackenzie has described the process in his *History of Health*, p. 431. Sir Edmund King, a favourite of Charles II., was among the philosophers of his time who made this famous experiment. See *Phil. Trans. abr.* iii. 224. The lines from v. 39 to 59 allude to various projects of the first establishers of the Royal Society. See *Birch's History of that body*, vol. i. 303, vol. ii. 48, *et seq.* *That makes fools cattle*, i. e. fools for admitting the blood of cattle into their veins.

² A curious story is told from Giraldu Cambrensis, of a sow that was suckled by a bitch, and acquired the sagacity of a hound or spaniel. See *Butler's Remains*, vol. i. p. 12.

³ On the first establishment of the Royal Society, some of the members engaged in the investigation of these and similar subjects. The Society was incorporated July 15, 1662.

⁴ The scheme proposed by the Society, was probably the cart to go with legs instead of wheels, mentioned Part III. Canto I. line 1563 ; or perhaps the famous sailing chariot of Stevinus, which was moved by sails, and carried twenty-eight passengers, over the sands of Scheveling, fourteen Dutch miles (nearly fifty-four English), in two hours.

⁵ That is, to follow you close at the heels.

As if the art you have so long
 Profess'd of making old dogs young,¹ 60
 In you had virtue to renew
 Not only youth, but childhood too ;
 Can you, that understand all books,
 By judging only with your looks,
 Resolve all problems with your face, 65
 As others do with B's and A's ;
 Unriddle all that mankind knows
 With solid bending of your brows ?
 All arts and sciences advance,
 With screwing of your countenance, 70
 And with a penetrating eye,
 Into th' abstrusest learning pry ;
 Know more of any trade b' a hint,
 Than those that have been bred up in't,
 And yet have no art, true or false, 75
 To help your own bad naturals ?
 But still the more you strive t' appear,
 Are found to be the wretcheder :
 For fools are known by looking wise,
 As men find woodcocks by their eyes. 80
 Hence 'tis because ye've gained o' th' college²
 A quarter share, at most, of knowledge,
 And brought in none, but spent repute,
 Y' assume a pow'r as absolute
 To judge, and censure, and control, 85
 As if you were the sole Sir Poll,³

¹ See Butler's *Genuine Remains*, vol. ii. p. 188. His want of judgment inclines him naturally to the most extravagant undertakings, like that of "making old dogs young ; corking up of words in bottles," &c.

² Though the Royal Society removed from Gresham college on account of the fire of London, it returned there again 1674, being the year in which this Epistle was published.

³ Nash thinks that the character of Sidrophel, in this Epistle, was designed for Sir Paul Neile, who had offended Mr Butler by saying that he was not the author of *Hudibras*. And this opinion is confirmed by Mr Thyer, who, in Butler's *Remains*, says "he can assure the reader, upon the poet's own authority, that the character of Sidrophel was intended for a picture of Sir Paul Neile, son of Richard Neile (whose father was a ehandler in Westminster), who, as Anthony Wood says, went through all degrees and orders in the church, school-master, curate, vicar, &c. &c.,

And saucily pretend to know
 More than your dividend comes to :
 You'll find the thing will not be done
 With ignorance and face alone : 90
 No, tho' ye've purchas'd to your name,
 In history, sō great a fame ;
 That now your talent's so well known,
 For having all belief out-grown,
 That ev'ry strange prodigious tale 95
 Is measur'd by your German scale,¹
 By which the virtuosi try
 The magnitude of ev'ry lie,
 Cast up to what it does amount,
 And place the bigg'st to your account ; 100
 That all those stories that are laid
 Too truly to you, and those made,
 Are now still charg'd upon your score,
 And lesser authors nam'd no more.
 Alas ! that faculty betrays² 105
 Those soonest it designs to raise ;
 And all your vain renown will spoil,
 As guns o'ercharg'd the more recoil ;
 Though he that has but impudence,
 To all things has a fair pretence ; 110
 And put among his wants but shame,
 To all the world may lay his claim :
 Tho' you have tried that nothing's borne
 With greater ease than public scorn,
 That all affronts do still give place 115
 To your impenetrable face ;
 That makes your way thro' all affairs,
 As pigs thro' hedges creep with theirs :
 Yet as 'tis counterfeit and brass,
 You must not think 'twill always pass ; 120

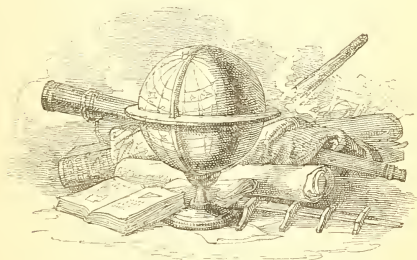
and at last was archbishop of York." Sir Paul was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society, which, in the dawn of science, listening to many things that appeared trifling and incredible to the generality of the people, became the butt and sport of the wits of the time.

¹ All incredible stories are now measured by your standard. One German mile is equal to five English miles.

² *Var. Destroys* in some early editions.

For all impostors, when they're known,
Are past their labour and undone:¹
And all the best that can befall
An artificial natural,
Is that which madmen find, as soon 125
As once they're broke loose from the moon,
And proof against her influence,
Relapse to e'er so little sense,
To turn stark fools, and subjects fit
For sport of boys, and rabble-wit. 130

¹ See Butler's Character of an Impudent Man. "He that is impudent, is like a merchant who trades upon his credit without a stock, and if his debts were known, would break immediately."



PART III. CANTO I.



ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire resolve at once,
The one the other to renounce ;
They both approach the Lady's bower,
The Squire t'inform, the Knight to woo her.
She treats them with a masquerade,
By furies and hobgoblins made ;
From which the Squire conveys the Knight,
And steals him, from himself, by night.

PART III. CANTO I.

T
IS true, no lover has that pow'r
 T' enforce a desperate amour,
 As he that has two strings to's bow.
 And burns for love and money too ;
 For then he's brave and resolute, 5
 Disdains to render¹ in his suit ;
 Has all his flames and raptures double,
 And hangs or drowns with half the trouble ;
 While those who sillily pursue
 The simple downright way, and true, 10
 Make as unlucky applications,
 And steer against the stream their passions.
 Some forge their mistresses of stars,
 Aud when the ladies prove averse,
 And more untoward to be won 15
 Than by Caligula the moon,²
 Cry out upon the stars for doing
 Ill offices, to cross their wooing,
 When only by themselves they're hindred,
 For trusting those they made her kindred,³ 20
 And still the harsher and hide-bounder
 The damsels prove, become the fonder.
 For what mad lover ever dy'd
 To gain a soft and gentle bride ?

¹ That is, surrender, or give up : from the French *rendre*.

² This was one of the extravagant follies of Caligula. He assumed to be a god and boasted of embracing the moon. See Suetonius, *Life of Caligula* (Bohn's edit. p. 266).

³ The meaning is, that when men have flattered their mistresses extravagantly, and declared them to be more than human, they must not be surprised or complain, if they are treated in return with that distant reserve which superior beings may rightly exercise towards inferior creatures.

Or for a lady tender-hearted, 25
 In purling streams or hemp departed ?
 Leap't headlong int' Elysium,
 Thro' th' windows of a dazzling room ?¹
 But for some cross ill-natur'd dame,
 The am'rous fly burnt in his flame. 30
 This to the Knight could be no news,
 With all mankind so much in use ;
 Who therefore took the wiser course,
 To make the most of his amours,
 Resolv'd to try all sorts of ways, 35
 As follows in due time and place.
 No sooner was the bloody fight
 Between the wizard and the Knight,
 With all th' appurtenances, over,
 But he relaps'd again t' a lover ; 40
 As he was always wont to do,
 When he'ad discomfited a foe,
 And us'd the only antique philters,
 Deriv'd from old heroic tilters.²
 But now triumphant and victorious, 45
 He held th' atchievement was too glorious
 For such a conqueror to meddle
 With petty constable or beadle ;
 Or fly for refuge to the hostess
 Of th' inns of court and chanc'ry, Justice ; 50
 Who might, perhaps, reduce his cause
 To th' ordeal trial of the laws ;³

¹ Drowned themselves. Objects reflected by water appear nearly the same as when they are viewed through the windows of a room so high from the ground that it dazzles to look down from it. Thus Juvenal, Sat. vi. v. 31, *Altæ caligantesque fenestræ*: which Holyday translates, dazzling high windows.

² The heroes of romance endeavoured to conciliate the affections of their mistresses by the fame of their illustrious exploits. So was Desdemona won. *Othello*, Act i.,

“She lov'd me for the dangers I had past.”

³ *Ordeal* comes from the Anglo-Saxon *ordal*, and signifies judgment. The methods of trial by fire, water, or combat, were in use till the time of Henry III., and the right of exercising them was annexed to several lordships or manors. At this day, when a culprit is arraigned at the bar, and asked how he will be tried, he is directed to answer, “by God and my

Where none escape, but such as branded
 With red-hot irons, have past bare-handed ;
 And if they cannot read one verse 55
 I' th' Psalms, must sing it, and that's worse.¹
 He, therefore, judging it below him,
 To tempt a shame the dev'l might owe him,
 Resolv'd to leave the Squire for bail
 And mainprize for him, to the jail, 60
 To answer with his vessel,² all
 That might disastrously befall.
 He thought it now the fittest juncture
 To give the Lady a rencounter ;
 T' acquaint her with his expedition, 65
 And conquest o'er the fierce magician ;
 Describe the manner of the fray,
 And show the spoils he brought away ;
 His bloody scourging aggravate,
 The number of the blows and weight : 70
 All which might probably succeed,
 And gain belief he 'ad done the deed:
 Which he resolv'd t' enforce, and spare
 No pawning of his soul to swear ;
 But, rather than produce his back, 75
 To set his conscience on the rack ;
 And in pursuance of his urging
 Of articles perform'd, and scourging,
 And all things else, upon his part,
 Demand delivery of her heart, 80

country," by the verdict or solemn opinion of a jury. "By God" only, would formerly have meant the ordeal, which referred the ease immediately to the divine judgment.

¹ In former times, when scholarship was rare and almost confined to priests, a person who was tried for any capital crime, except treason or sacrilege, might obtain an acquittal by *praying his clergy*; the meaning of which was to call for a Latin Bible, and read a passage in it, generally selected from the Psalms. If he exhibited this capacity, the ordinary certified *quod legit*, and he was saved as a person of learning, who might be useful to the state; otherwise he was hanged. Hence the saying among the people, that if they could not read their neck-verse at sessions, they must sing it at the gallows, it being customary to give out a psalm to be sung preliminary to the execution.

² In the use of this term the saints unwittingly concurred with the old philosophers, who also called the body a vessel.

Her goods and chattels, and good graces,
 And person, up to his embraces.
 Thought he, the ancient errant knights
 Won all their ladies' hearts in fights,
 And cut whole giants into fitters,¹ 85
 To put them into am'rous twitters ;
 Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,
 Until their gallants were half kill'd ;
 But when their bones were drubb'd so sore,
 They durst not woo one combat more, 90
 The ladies' hearts began to melt,
 Subdu'd by blows their lovers felt.
 So Spanish heroes, with their lances,
 At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies ;²
 And he acquires the noblest spouse 95
 That widows greatest herds of cows ;
 Then what may I expect to do,
 Who 've quell'd so vast a buffalo ?
 Meanwhile the Squire was on his way,
 The Knight's late orders to obey ; 100
 Who sent him for a strong detachment
 Of beadles, constables, and watchmen,
 T' attack the cunning-man, for plunder
 Committed falsely on his lumber ;
 When he, who had so lately sack'd 105
 The enemy, had done the fact,
 Had rifled all his pokes and fobs³
 Of gimcracks, whims, and jiggumbobs,⁴
 Which he by hook or crook had gather'd,
 And for his own inventions father'd : 110
 And when they should, at jail-delivery,
 Unriddle one another's thievery,

¹ Some editions read *fitters* ; but the corrected one of 1678 has *fitters*, a phrase often used by romance writers, very frequently by the author of the *Romaunt of Romaunts*. *Fitters* signifies small fragments, from *fetta*, Ital., *fetzen*, Germ.

² The bull-fights at Madrid have been frequently described. The ladies have always taken a zealous part at these combats.

³ That is, large and small pockets. *Poke* from *poche*, a large pocket, bag, or sack. So "a pig in a poke."

⁴ Knick-knacks, or trinkets. See Wright's Glossary.

Both might have evidence enough
 To render neither halter-proof.¹
 He thought it desperate to tarry, 115
 And venture to be accessory ;
 But rather wisely slip his fetters,
 And leave them for the Knight, his betters.
 He call'd to mind th' unjust foul play
 He would have offer'd him that day, 120
 To make him curry his own hide,
 Which no beast ever did beside,
 Without all possible evasion,
 But of the riding dispensation :²
 And therefore much about the hour 125
 The Knight, for reasons told before,
 Resolv'd to leave him to the fury
 Of justice, and an unpack'd jury,
 The Squire concurr'd t' abandon him,
 And serve him in the self-same trim ;³ 130
 T' acquaint the lady what he'd done,
 And what he meant to carry on ;
 What project 't was he went about
 When Sidrophel and he fell out ;

¹ The mutual accusations of the Knight and Sidrophel, if established, might hang both of them. *Halter-proof* is to be in no danger from a halter, as musket-proof is to be in no danger from a musket: to render neither halter-proof is to leave both in danger of being hanged.

² Ralpho considers that he should not have escaped the whipping intended for him by the Knight, if their dispute had not been interrupted by the riding-show, or skimmington.

³ The author has long had an eye to the selfishness and treachery of the leading parties, the Presbyterians and Independents. A few lines below he speaks more plainly :

In which both dealt, as if they meant
 Their party saints to represent,
 Who never fail'd, upon their sharing
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,
 To lay themselves out to supplant
 Each other cousin-german saint.

The reader will remember that Hudibras represents the Presbyterians, and Ralpho the the Independents: this scene therefore alludes to the manner in which the latter supplanted the former in the civil war.

His firm and stedfast resolution, 135
 To swear her to an execution ;¹
 To pawn his inward ears to marry her,²
 And bribe the devil himself to carry her.
 In which both dealt, as if they meant
 Their party saints to represent, 140
 Who never fail'd, upon their sharing
 In any prosperous arms-bearing,
 To lay themselves out to supplant
 Each other cousin-german saint.
 But ere the Knight could do his part, 145
 The Squire had got so much the start,
 He'd to the lady done his errand,
 And told her all his tricks aforehand.
 Just as he finish'd his report,
 The Knight alighted in the court, 150
 And having ty'd his beast t' a pale,
 And taken time for both to stale,
 He put his band and beard in order,
 The sprucer to accost and board her :³
 And now began t' approach the door, 155
 When she, who 'ad spy'd him out before,
 Convey'd th' informer out of sight,
 And went to entertain the Knight :
 With whom encountering, after longees⁴
 Of humble and submissive congees, 160
 And all due ceremonies paid,
 He strok'd his beard, and thus he said :⁵

¹ To swear he had undergone the stipulated whipping, and then demand the performance of her part of the bargain.

² His honour and conscience, which might forfeit some of their immunities by perjury, as the outward ears do for the same crime in the sentence of the statute law.

³ Thus in Hamlet, Act ii. sc. 2 :

I'll *board* him presently.—O, give me leave.—
How does my good lord Hamlet ?

See also Twelfth Night, Act i. sc. 3 ; and Taming of the Shrew, Act i sc. 2.

⁴ Longees are thrusts made by fencers.

⁵ “ And now, being come within compass of discerning her, he began to frame the loveliest countenance that he could ; stroking up his legs, setting

Madam, I do, as is my duty,
 Honour the shadow of your shoe-tie;¹
 And now am come, to bring your ear
 A present you'll be glad to hear; 165
 At least I hope so: the thing's done,
 Or may I never see the sun;
 For which I humbly now demand
 Performance at your gentle hand; 170
 And that you'd please to do your part,
 As I have done mine to my smart.

With that he shrugg'd his sturdy back,
 As if he felt his shoulders ake:
 But she, who well enough knew what,
 Before he spoke, he would be at, 175
 Pretended not to apprehend
 The mystery of what he mean'd,
 And therefore wish'd him to expound
 His dark expressions less profound. 180

Madam, quoth he, I come to prove
 How much I've suffer'd for your love,
 Which, like your votary, to win,
 I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin;²
 And, for those meritorious lashes, 185
 To claim your favour and good graces.

Quoth she, I do remember once³
 I freed you from th' enchanted sence;⁴
 And that you promis'd, for that favour,
 To bind your back to 'ts good behaviour,⁵ 190

up his beard in due order, and standing bolt upright." Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, lib. iii. p. 349. See also *Troilus and Cressida*, Act i.; *Cleveland's Mixt Assembly*, p. 43; *Don Quixote*, Part i. book iii. chap. 12.

¹ This rhyme is used before by Crashaw, in his *Delights of the Muses*, published in 1646:

I wish her beauty,
 That owes not all its duty
 To gaudy tire, or glistering *shoe-ty*.

² Roman Catholics used to scourge themselves before the image of a favourite saint.

³ The lady here with amusing affectation speaks as if the event had happened some time before, though in reality it was only the preceding day.

⁴ From the stocks.

⁵ Var. *To th' good behaviour*.

And for my sake and service, vow'd
 To lay upon 't a heavy load,
 And what 't would bear to a scruple prove,
 As other knights do oft make love.
 Which, whether you have done or no, 195
 Concerns yourself, not me, to know ;
 But if you have, I shall confess,
 Y' are honester than I could guess.
 Quoth he, If you suspect my troth,
 I cannot prove it but by oath ; 200
 And, if you make a question on 't,
 I'll pawn my soul that I have done 't :
 And he that makes his soul his surety,
 I think does give the best secur'ty.
 Quoth she, Some say the soul's secure 205
 Against distress and forfeiture ;
 Is free from action, and exempt
 From execution and contempt ;
 And to be summon'd to appear
 In the other world 's illegal here,¹ 210
 And therefore few make any account,
 Int' what incumbrances they run't :
 For most men carry things so even
 Between this world, and hell, and heaven,²
 Without the least offence to either, 215
 They freely deal in all together,
 And equally abhor to quit
 This world for both, or both for it.
 And when they pawn and damn their souls,
 They are but pris'ners on paroles. 220
 For that, quoth he, 'tis rational,
 They may be accountable in all :

¹ Alluding to the famous story of Peter and John de Carvajal, who, being unjustly condemned for murder, and taken for execution, summoned the king, Ferdinand the Fourth of Spain, to appear before God's tribunal in thirty days. The king laughed at the summons, but it nevertheless disquieted him, and though he remained apparently in good health on the day before, he was found dead in his bed on the morning of the thirtieth day. Mariana says there can be no doubt of the truth of this story.

² Meaning the combination of saintship, or being righteous over-much, with selfishness and knavery.

For when there is that intercourse
 Between divine and human pow'rs,
 That all that we determine here 225
 Commands obedience ev'rywhere;¹
 When penalties may be commuted²
 For fines, or ears, and executed,
 It follows, nothing binds so fast
 As souls in pawn and mortgage past: 230
 For oaths are th' only tests and scales³
 Of right and wrong, and true and false;
 And there's no other way to try
 The doubts of law and justice by.
 Quoth she, What is it you would swear? 235
 There's no believing 'till I hear:
 For, 'till they're understood, all tales,
 Like nonsense, are not true nor false.
 Quoth he, When I resolv'd t'obey
 What you commanded th' other day, 240
 And to perform my exercise,
 As schools are wont, for your fair eyes;
 T' avoid all scruples in the case,
 I went to do't upon the place;
 But as the castle is enchanted 245
 By Sidrophel the witch, and haunted
 With evil spirits, as you know,
 Who took my Squire and me for two,⁴
 Before I'd hardly time to lay
 My weapons by, and disarray, 250
 I heard a formidable noise,
 Loud as the Stentrophonic voice,⁵
 That roar'd far off, Dispatch and strip,
 I'm ready with th' infernal whip,
 That shall divest thy ribs of skin, 255
 To expiate thy ling'ring sin;

¹ The reference is to the text:—"Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven." Matthew xviii. 13.

² The Knight argues that, since temporal punishments may be mitigated and commuted, the best securities for truth and honesty are such oaths as his.

³ *Var.* *Seals* in edition of 1678.

⁴ For two evil and delinquent spirits.

⁵ Sir Samuel Morland's speaking trumpet was so called after Homer's far-famed brazen-tongued Stentor. See *Iliad*, v. 785.

Thou'st broke perfidiously thy oath,
 And not perform'd thy plighted troth,
 But spar'd thy renegado back,
 Where thou'dst so great a prize at stake,¹ 260
 Which now the fates have order'd me
 For penance and revenge, to flea,
 Unless thou presently make haste ;
 Time is, time was !²—and there it ceast.
 With which, tho' startled, I confess, 265
 Yet th' horror of the thing was less
 Than the other dismal apprehension
 Of interruption or prevention ;
 And therefore, snatching up the rod,
 I laid upon my back a load, 270
 Resolv'd to spare no flesh and blood,
 To make my word and honour good ;
 Till tir'd, and taking truce at length,
 For new recruits of breath and strength,
 I felt the blows still ply'd as fast, 275
 As if they'd been by lovers plac'd,
 In raptures of Platonic lashing,
 And chaste contemplative bardashing.³
 When facing hastily about,
 To stand upon my guard and scout,⁴ 280
 I found th' infernal cunning man,
 And the under-witch, his Caliban,
 With scourges, like the furies, arm'd,
 That on my outward quarters storm'd.
 In haste I snatch'd my weapon up, 285
 And gave their hellish rage a stop ;
 Call'd thrice upon your name,⁵ and fell
 Courageously on Sidrophel :

¹ The later editions read, *when thou'dst*.

² This was the famous saying of Roger Bacon's brazen head.

³ The epithets chaste and contemplative are used ironically. Bulwer, in his *Artificial Changeling*, p. 209, says, "the Turks call those that are young, and have no beards, *bardasses*," that is, sodomitical boys.

⁴ Sir Samuel Luke, it will be remembered, was scout-master. See p. 4, note ².

⁵ In the romances of knight-errantry the heroes always invoke their mistresses upon such occasions.

Who now transform'd himself t' a bear
 Began to roar aloud, and tear; 290
 When I as furiously press'd on,¹
 My weapon down his throat to run,
 Laid hold on him; but he broke loose,
 And turn'd himself into a goose,
 Div'd under water, in a pond, 295
 To hide himself from being found;
 In vain I sought him; but as soon
 As I perceiv'd him fled and gone,
 Prepar'd, with equal haste and rage,
 His under-sorc'rer to engage; 300
 But bravely scorning to defile
 My sword with feeble blood, and vile,
 I judg'd it better from a quick-
 Set hedge to cut a knotted stick,
 With which I furiously laid on; 305
 Till, in a harsh and doleful tone,
 It roar'd, O hold, for pity, Sir,
 I am too great a sufferer,²
 Abus'd as you have been b'a witch,
 But conjur'd int' a worse caprich,³ 310
 Who sends me out on many a jaunt,
 Old houses in the night to haunt,
 For opportunities t' improve
 Designs of thievery or love;
 With drugs convey'd in drink or meat, 315
 All feats of witches counterfeit;
 Kill pigs and geese with powder'd glass,
 And make it for enchantment pass;
 With cow-itch⁴ meazle like a leper,
 And choke with fumes of guinea pepper; 320
 Make lechers, and their punks, with dewtry,⁵
 Commit fantastical advowtry;

¹ Some editions read: When I furiously—

² *O, for pity*, is a favourite expression, frequently used by Spenser.

³ That is, whim, fancy, from the Italian *capriccio*.

⁴ Cowage, or Cow-itch (*Mucuna pruriens*), a plant introduced from the East Indies in 1680, the pod of which is covered with short hairs, which, if applied to the skin, cause great itching. It is still sometimes used by country lads and lasses in various ways, to tease each other with.

⁵ *Dewtry* is the old English name for *Datura*, a plant belonging to the

Bewitch hermetic men to run ¹
 Stark staring mad with manicon ;
 Believe mechanic virtuosi 325
 Can raise 'em mountains in Potosi ;²
 And sillier than the antic fools,
 Take treasure for a heap of coals ;³
 Seek out for plants with signatures,
 To quack of universal cures ;⁴ 330
 With figures, ground on panes of glass,
 Make people on their heads to pass ;⁵

Natural Order of *Night-shades*, all of which are extremely narcotic, and by some old writer said to be intoxicating and *aphrodisiac*. Stramonium is the English species. One of the inquiries of the time, instigated by the Royal Society, was as to the properties of Datura. See Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 161, *et seq.* *Advowtry* signifies adultery, and is so used by Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII.

¹ Alchemists were called hermetic philosophers. *Manicon* (or strychnon) is another narcotic, and is so called from its power of causing madness. Authors differ as to its modern name, some supposing it to be the *Physalis*, or winter-cherry, others the *black night-shade*. See Pliny's Natural Hist. (Bohn's edit.) vol. v. p. 241, 266. Banquo, in Shakspeare's Macbeth, seems to allude to it when he says :

Were such things here, as we do speak about?
 Or have we eaten of the insane root,
 That takes the reason prisoner? Act i.

² A banter on the pretended Discoverers of the Philosopher's Stone, one of whom, Van Helmont, asserted in his book, that he had made nearly eight ounces of gold by projecting a grain of his powder upon eight ounces of quicksilver.

³ The alchemists pretended to be able to transmute the baser metals into gold. Antic means antique or ancient, perhaps quizzing the Royal Society ; or Butler might mean those dreamers among the ancients, who gave occasion to the proverb, "pro thesauro carbones ;" they dreamed of gold, but on examination found coals ; it is frequently applied by Lucian and Phædrus. It must be borne in mind, however, that *Carbon* is the constituent part of diamonds and gold as well as of coal.

⁴ The signatures of plants were marks or figures upon them, which were thought to point out their medicinal qualities. Thus Wood-sorrel was used as a cordial, because its leaf is shaped like a heart. Liverwort was given for disorders of the liver. The herb Dragon was employed to counteract the effects of poison, because its stem is speckled like some serpents. The yellow juice of the Celandine recommended it for the cure of the jaundice, and Paracelsus said, that the spots on the leaves of the *Persicaria maculosa* proved its efficacy in the scurvy.

⁵ The multiplying glass, concave mirror, camera obscura, and other inventions, which were new in our author's time, passed with the vulgar for enchantments: and as the law against witches was then in force, the ex-

And mighty heaps of coin increase,
 Reflected from a single piece ;
 To draw in fools, whose nat'ral itches 335
 Incline perpetually to witches,
 And keep me in continual fears,
 And danger of my neck and ears ;
 When less delinquents have been scou'g'd,
 And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd,¹ 340
 Which others for cravats have worn
 About their necks, and took a turn.
 I pitied the sad punishment
 The wretched caitiff underwent,
 And held my drubbing of his bones 345
 Too great an honour for poltroons ;
 For knights are bound to feel no blows
 From paltry and unequal foes,²
 Who, when they slash and cut to pieces,
 Do all with civillest addresses : 350
 Their horses never give a blow,
 But when they make a leg and bow.
 I therefore spar'd his flesh, and prest him
 About the witch, with many a question.
 Quoth he, For many years he drove 355
 A kind of broking-trade in love,³
 Employ'd in all th' intrigues, and trust,
 Of feeble, speculative lust ;
 Procurer to th' extravagancy,
 And crazy ribaldry of fancy, 360
 By those the devil had forsook,
 As things below him, to provoke ;
 But b'ing a virtuoso, able
 To smatter, quack, and cant, and dabble,
 He held his talent most adroit, 365
 For any mystical exploit,

hibitors of these curiosities were in some danger of being sentenced to Bridewell, the pillory, or the halter.

¹ Alluding to the occupation of minor criminals in Bridewell, who beat the hemp with which greater criminals were hanged.

² According to the rules of knight-errantry. See Don Quixote (book iii ch. 1), and romances in general.

³ Meaning that he was a pimp, or pander.

As others of his tribe had done,
 And rais'd their prices three to one ;
 For one predicting pimp has th' odds
 Of chaldrons of plain downright bawds. 370
 But as an elf, the dev'l's valet,
 Is not so slight a thing to get,¹
 For those that do his bus'ness best,
 In hell are us'd the ruggedest ;
 Before so meriting a person 375
 Cou'd get a grant, but in reversion,
 He serv'd two 'prenticeships, and longer,
 I' th' myst'ry of a lady-monger.
 For, as some write, a witch's ghost,
 As soon as from the body loos'd, 380
 Becomes a puisné-imp itself,
 And is another witch's elf ;
 He, after searching far and near,
 At length found one in Lancashire,
 With whom he bargain'd beforehand, 385
 And, after hanging, entertain'd :
 Since which he's play'd a thousand feats,
 And practis'd all mechanic cheats :
 Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes
 Of wolves and bears, baboons and apes ; 390
 Which he has varied more than witches,
 Or Pharaoh's wizards could their switches ;
 And all with whom he's had to do,
 Turn'd to as monstrous figures too ;
 Witness myself, whom he's abus'd, 395
 And to this beastly shape reduc'd ;
 By feeding me on beans and peas,
 He crams in nasty crevices,
 And turns to comfits by his arts,
 To make me relish for desserts, 400
 And one by one, with shame and fear,
 Lick up the candied provender.

¹ William Lilly says he was fourteen years before he could get an elf or ghost of a departed witch, but at last found one in Lancashire. This country has always been famous for witches, but the ladies there are now so called out of compliment to their *witchery* or beauty.

Beside—But as h' was running on,
 To tell what other feats he'd done,
 The lady stopt his full career, 405
 And told him, now 'twas time to hear.
 If half those things, said she, be true—
 They're all, quoth he, I swear by you.
 Why then, said she, that Sidrophel
 Has damn'd himself to th' pit of hell, 410
 Who, mounted on a broom, the nag¹
 And hackney of a Lapland hag,
 In quest of you came hither post,
 Within an hour, I'm sure, at most,
 Who told me all you swear and say, 415
 Quite contrary, another way ;
 Vow'd that you came to him, to know
 If you should carry me or no ;
 And would have hir'd him and his imps,
 To be your match-makers and pimps, 420
 T' engage the devil on your side,
 And steal, like Proserpine, your bride ;
 But he, disdain'g to embrace
 So filthy a design, and base,
 You fell to vapouring and huffing, 425
 And drew upon him like a raffian ;
 Surpris'd him meanly, unprepar'd,
 Before he 'ad time to mount his guard,
 And left him dead upon the ground,
 With many a bruise and desperate wound ; 430
 Swore you had broke and robb'd his house,
 And stole his talismanique louse,²
 And all his new-found old inventions,
 With flat felonious intentions,
 Which he could bring out, where he had, 435
 And what he bought 'em for, and paid ;

¹ Lapland is head-quarters for witchcraft, and it is from these Scandinavians that we derive the accepted tradition that witches ride through the air on broom-sticks. See Scheffer's History of Lapland, Mallet's Northern Antiquities, and Keightley's Fairy Mythology.

² The poet intimates that Sidrophel, being much plagued with lice, had made a talisman, or formed a louse in a certain position of the stars, to chase away this kind of vermin.

His flea, his morpion, and punese,¹
 He 'ad gotten for his proper ease,
 And all in perfect minutes made,
 By th' ablest artists of the trade ; 440
 Which, he could prove it, since he lost,
 He has been eaten up almost,
 And altogether, might amount
 To many hundreds on account ;
 For which he 'ad got sufficient warrant 445
 To seize the malefactors errant,
 Without capacity of bail,
 But of a cart's or horse's tail ;
 And did not doubt to bring the wretches
 To serve for pendulums to watches, 450
 Which, modern virtuosi say,
 Incline to hanging every way.²
 Beside, he swore, and swore 'twas true,
 That ere he went in quest of you,
 He set a figure to discover 455
 If you were fled to Rye or Dover ;
 And found it clear, that to betray
 Yourself and me, you fled this way ;
 And that he was upon pursuit,
 To take you somewhere hereabout. 460
 He vow'd he'd had intelligence
 Of all that pass'd before and since ;
 And found, that ere you came to him,
 Y' had been engaging life and limb
 About a case of tender conscience, 465
 Where both abounded in your own sense ;
 Till Ralpho, by his Light and Grace,
 Had clear'd all scruples in the case,
 And prov'd that you might swear, and own
 Whatever's by the Wicked done : 470
 For which, most basely to requite
 The service of his Gifts and Light,

¹ The talisman of a flea, a louse, and a bug. Morpion and Punaise are French terms.

² Meaning the balance for watches, which may be called a substitute for the pendulum, and was invented about our author's time by Dr Hooke.

You strove t' oblige him, by main force,
 To scourge his ribs instead of yours ;
 But that he stood upon his guard, 475
 And all your vapouring outdar'd ;
 For which, between you both, the feat
 Has never been perform'd as yet.

While thus the lady talk'd, the Knight
 Turn'd th' outside of his eyes to white ; 480
 As men of Inward Light are wont
 To turn their optics in upon 't ;¹
 He wonder'd how she came to know
 What he had done, and meant to do ;
 Held up his affidavit hand,² 485

As if he 'd been to be arraign'd ;
 Cast tow'rds the door a ghastly look,
 In dread of Sidrophel, and spoke :

Madam, if but one word be true
 Of all the wizard has told you, 490
 Or but one single circumstance

In all th' apocryphal romance ;
 May dreadful earthquakes swallow down
 This vessel, that is all your own ;³
 Or may the heavens fall, and cover 495
 These relics of your constant lover.⁴

You have provided well, quoth she,
 I thank you, for yourself and me,

¹ The Dissenters are ridiculed for an affected sanctity, and turning up the whites of their eyes, which Echard calls "showing the heavenly part of the eye." Thus Ben Jonson in his story of Cockslossel and the Devil,

To help it he called for a puritan poacht
 That used to turn up the eggs of his eyes.

And Fenton (in his Epistle to Southerne) :

Her eyes she disciplin'd percisely right,
 Both when to wink, and how to turn the white.

See also Talc of a Tub, p. 207.

² When any one takes an oath, he puts his right hand to the book, that is, to the New Testament, and kisses it ; but the Covenanters, in swearing, refused to kiss the book, saying it was Popish and superstitious ; and substituted the ceremony of holding up the right hand, which they used also in taking any oath before the magistrate.

³ This is an equivocation ; the "vessel" is evidently not the abject suitor, but the lady herself.

⁴ The Knight still means the widow, but speaks as if he meant himself.

And shown your Presbyterian wits
 Jump punctual¹ with the Jesuits'; 500
 A most compendious way, and civil,
 At once to cheat the world, the devil,
 With heaven and hell, yourselves, and those
 On whom you vainly think t' impose.

Why then, quoth he, may hell surprise— 505
 That trick, said she, will not pass twice:
 I've learn'd how far I'm to believe
 Your pinning oaths upon your sleeve;
 But there's a better way of clearing
 What you would prove, than downright swearing: 510
 For if you have perform'd the feat,
 The blows are visible as yet,
 Enough to serve for satisfaction
 Of nicest scruples in the action;
 And if you can produce those knobs, 515
 Altho' they're but the witch's drubs,
 I'll pass them all upon account,
 As if your nat'ral self had done 't;
 Provided that they pass th' opinion
 Of able juries of old women, 520
 Who, us'd to judge all matter of facts
 For bellies,² may do so for backs.

Madam, quoth he, your love's a million,
 To do is less than to be willing,
 As I am, were it in my power, 525
 T' obey what you command, and more;
 But for performing what you bid,
 I thank you as much as if I did.
 You know I ought to have a care
 To keep my wounds from taking air; 530
 For wounds in those that are all heart,
 Are dangerous in any part.

I find, quoth she, my goods and chattels
 Are like to prove but mere drawn battles;

¹ "Jump punctual" means to agree exactly. "You will find" (says Petyt, in his *Visions of the Reformation*) "that though they have two faces that look different ways, yet they have both the same lineaments, the same principles, and the same practices."

² When a woman pretends to be pregnant, in order to gain a respite from her sentence, the fact must be ascertained by a jury of matrons.

For still the longer we contend, 535
 We are but farther off the end.
 But granting now we should agree,
 What is it you expect from me ?

Your plighted faith, quoth he, and word
 You pass'd in heaven, on record, 540
 Where all contracts to have and t' hold,
 Are everlastingly enroll'd :
 And if 'tis counted treason here ¹
 To raze records, 'tis much more there.

Quoth she, There are no bargains driv'n, 545
 Nor marriages clapp'd up in heav'n ; ²
 And that's the reason, as some guess,
 There is no heav'n in marriages ;
 Two things that naturally press ³
 Too narrowly, to be at ease : 550

Their bus'ness there is only love,
 Which marriage is not like t' improve ; ⁴
 Love, that's too generous t' abide
 To be against its nature tied ;
 For where 'tis of itself inclin'd, 555
 It breaks loose when it is confin'd, ⁵

And like the soul, its harbourer,
 Debarr'd the freedom of the air,
 Disdains against its will to stay,
 But struggles out, and flies away : 560
 And therefore never can comply,
 T' endure the matrimonial tie,

¹ It was made *felony* by Act 8 Ric. II., and 8 Hen. VI., cap. 12.

² Mark xii. 25 : "For when they shall arise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage."

³ That is, bargains and marriages.

⁴ Plurimus in cœlis amor est, connubia nulla :
 Conjugia in terris plurima, nullus amor.

J. Owen, Epigram, lib. 2.

⁵ Thus thought Eloise, according to Pope :

Love, free as air, at sight of human ties,
 Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies.

So Chaucer, in his Frankeleynes Tale :

Love wol not be constrained by maistrie :
 Whan maistre cometh, the god of love anon
 Beteth his winges, and, farewell, he is gon.

That binds the female and the male,
 Where th' one is but the other's bail ;
 Like Roman gaolers, when they slept, 565
 Chain'd to the prisoners they kept :²
 Of which the true and faithfull'st lover
 Gives best security to suffer.
 Marriage is but a beast, some say,³
 That carries double in foul way, 570
 And therefore 'tis not to b' admir'd,
 It should so suddenly be tir'd ;
 A bargain, at a venture made,
 Between two partners in a trade :
 For what's inferr'd by t' have and t' hold, 575
 But something pass'd away and sold ?⁴
 That, as it makes but one of two,
 Reduces all things else as low ;
 And at the best is but a mart
 Between the one and th' other part, 580
 That on the marriage day is paid,
 Or hour of death, the bet it laid ;⁵
 And all the rest of bett'r or worse,
 Both are but losers out of purse :
 For when upon their ungot heirs 585
 Th' entail themselves and all that's theirs,
 What blinder bargain e'er was driven,
 Or wager laid at six and seven ?
 To pass themselves away, and turn
 Their children's tenants ere they're born ? 590
 Beg one another idiot
 To guardians, ere they are begot ;

¹ That is, where if one of them is faulty, the other is drawn into difficulties by it, and the truest lover is likely to be the greatest sufferer.

² The custom among the Romans was to chain the right hand of the culprit to the left hand of the guard.

³ Sir Thomas Brown says that he could be content that we might procreate like trees without conjunction.

⁴ An equivocation. The words "to have and to hold," in the marriage ceremony, signify "I take to possess and keep;" in deeds of conveyance their meaning is, "I give to be possessed and kept by another." The Salisbury Missal (see edition 1554) reads, "I take thee for my wedded wife to have and to hold *for this day*."

⁵ Some editions read, *the bet is laid*.

Or ever shall, perhaps, by th' one
 Who's bound to vouch 'em for his own,
 Tho' got b' implicit generation,¹ 695
 And general club of all the nation;
 For which she's fortified no less
 Than all the island with four seas:²
 Exacts the tribute of her dower,
 In ready insolence and power, 600
 And makes him pass away, to have
 And hold to her, himself, her slave,
 More wretched than an ancient villain,³
 Condemn'd to drudgery and tilling;
 While all he does upon the by, 605
 She is not bound to justify,
 Nor at her proper cost and charge
 Maintain the feats he does at large.⁴
 Such hideous sots were those obedient
 Old vassals to their ladies regent, 610
 To give the cheats the eldest hand
 In foul play, by the laws o' th' land,
 For which so many a legal cuckold⁵
 Has been run down in courts, and truckled:
 A law that most unjustly yokes 615
 All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes,⁶

¹ This would seem to mean generation on faith; but Dr Johnson says, *implicit* signifies mixt, complicated, intricate, perplexed. Grey illustrates the reference by the story of a woman who alleged that she was *enceinte* by her husband, though he had been three years absent from her, upon the plea that she had received very comfortable letters from him.

² The interpretation of the law was, that a child could not be deemed a bastard, if the husband had remained in the island, or within the four seas. See Butler's Remains, vol. i. p. 122.

³ The villains were a sort of serfs or slaves, bound to the land, and passed with it to any purchaser: as the lord was not answerable for anything done by his villain tenant, no more is the wife for anything done by her villain husband, though he is bound to justify and maintain all that his wife does.

⁴ Meaning that the husband is bound under all circumstances to maintain the credit of his wife, a condition as degrading as that of villainage, by which the tenants were bound to render the most abject services to their lords; while the wife, on the other hand, is in no respect responsible for her husband.

⁵ A legal cuckold is one who has proved his title by an action for damages.

⁶ These are names given in law proceedings to indefinite persons, like

Without distinction of degree,
 Condition, age, or quality ;
 Admits no pow'r of revocation,
 Nor valuable consideration, 620
 Nor writ of error, nor reverse
 Of judgment past, for better or worse ;
 Will not allow the privileges
 That beggars challenge under hedges,
 Who, when they're griev'd, can make dead horses 625
 Their spiritual judges of divorces ;¹
 While nothing else but *rem in re*,
 Can set the proudest wretches free ;
 A slavery beyond enduring,
 But that 'tis of their own procuring. 630
 As spiders never seek the fly,
 But leave him, of himself, t' apply ;
 So men are by themselves betray'd,
 To quit the freedom they enjoy'd,
 And run their necks into a noose, 635
 They'd break 'em after to break loose.
 As some, whom death would not depart,²
 Have done the feat themselves by art.
 Like Indian widows, gone to bed
 In flaming curtains to the dead ;³ 640
 And men has often dangled for 't,
 And yet will never leave the sport.
 Nor do the ladies want excuse
 For all the stratagems they use,
 To gain th' advantage of the set,⁴ 645
 And lurch the amorous rook and cheat.
 For as the Pythagorean soul
 Runs thro' all beasts, and fish, and fowl,⁵

John Doe and Richard Roe, or Caius and Titus, in the civil law. See an amusing paper on the subject in Spectator, 577. But Butler has humorously changed John o' Nokes into a female.

¹ The gipsies, it is said, are satisfied of the validity of such decisions.

² Alluding to several revisions of the Common Prayer before the last, where it stood, "til death us depart," and then was altered to, "til death us do part."

³ They used to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands ; a custom which has but recently been abolished.

⁴ *Set*, that is, the game, a term at tennis.

⁵ The doctrine of metempsychosis. Pythagoras, according to Heraclides,

And has a smack of ev'ry one,
 So love does, and has ever done ; 650
 And therefore, though 'tis ne'er so fond,¹
 Takes strangely to the vagabond.
 'Tis but an ague that's reverst,
 Whose hot fit takes the patient first,
 That after burns with cold as much 655
 As iron in Greenland does the touch ;²
 Melts in the furnace of desire,
 Like glass, that's but the ice of fire ;
 And when his heat of fancy's over,
 Becomes as hard and frail a lover :³ 660
 For when he's with love-powder laden,
 And prim'd and cock'd by Miss or Madam,
 The smallest sparkle of an eye
 Gives fire to his artillery,
 And off the loud oaths go, but, while 665
 They're in the very act, recoil :
 Hence 'tis so few dare take their chance
 Without a sep'rate maintenance ;
 And widows, who have try'd one lover,
 Trust none again 'till they've made over ;⁴ 670
 Or if they do, before they marry,
 The foxes weigh the geese they carry ;⁵

used to say that he remembered not only what men, but what plants and what animals, his soul had passed through. And Empedocles declared of himself, that he had been first a boy, then a girl, then a plant, then a bird, then a fish.

¹ In the edition of 1678, "ere so fond."

² Metals, if applied to the flesh, in very cold climates, occasion extreme pain. This well-known fact is occasioned by the rapid and excessive abstraction of caloric from the flesh ; just as a burn is by the rapid and excessive communication of it. Virgil, in his *Georgics*, I. 92, speaks of cold as burning. Some years ago, we believe in 1814, a report ran through the newspapers that a boy, putting his tongue, out of bravado, to the iron of Menai bridge, when the cold was below zero, found it adhere so violently, that it could not be withdrawn without surgical aid, and the loss of part of it.

³ That is, becomes as hard and frail as glass : for after being melted in the furnace of desire, he congeals like melted glass, which, when the heat is over, is not unlike ice.

⁴ Made over their property, in trust, to a third person for their sole and separate use.

⁵ Sir Kenelm Digby, in his *Treatise on Bodies*, chap. 36, § 38, relates this story of the fox.

And ere they venture o'er a stream,
 Know how to size themselves and them.
 Whence wittiest ladies always choose 675
 To undertake the heaviest goose :
 For now the world is grown so wary,
 That few of either sex dare marry,
 But rather trust, on tick, t' amours,
 The cross and pile, for better or worse ;¹ 680
 A mode that is held honourable,
 As well as French, and fashionable :
 For when it falls out for the best,
 Where both are incommoded least,
 In soul and body two unite, 685
 To make up one hermaphrodite,
 Still amorous, and fond, and billing,
 Like Philip and Mary on a shilling;²
 They've more punctilios and caprices
 Between the petticoat and breeches, 690
 More petulant extravagances,
 Than poets make 'em in romances ;
 Tho', when their heroes 'spouse the dames,
 We hear no more of charms and flames ;
 For then their late attracts decline, 695
 And turn as eager as prick'd wine ;
 And all their catterwauling tricks,
 In earnest to as jealous piques ;
 Which th' ancients wisely signify'd
 By th' yellow mantos of the bride.³ 700
 For jealousy is but a kind
 Of clap and grincam of the mind,⁴

¹ Signifying a mere toss up, heads or tails.

² On the shillings of Philip and Mary, coined 1555, the faces are placed opposite, and near to each other. Cleveland, in his poem on an Hermaphrodite, has a similar expression :

"Thus did nature's mintage vary,
 Coining thee a Philip and Mary."

³ The bride, among the Romans, was brought home to her husband in a yellow veil. The widow intimates that the yellow colour of the veil was an emblem of jealousy.

⁴ The later editions read *crincam* ; either of them is a cant word, denoting an infectious disease, or whimsical affection of the mind, applied commonly

The natural effects of love,
 As other flames and aches¹ prove :
 But all the mischief is, the doubt 705
 On whose account they first broke out ;
 For tho' Chinesees go to bed,
 And lie-in in their ladies' stead,²
 And, for the pains they took before,
 Are nurs'd and pamper'd to do more ; 710
 Our green-men³ do it worse, when th' hap
 To fall in labour of a clap ;
 Both lay the child to one another,
 But who's the father, who the mother,

to love, lewdness, or jealousy. Thus, in the manors of East and West Enborne, in Berkshire, if the widow by incontinence forfeits her free bench, she may recover it again by riding into the next manor court, backward, on a black ram, with his tail in her hand, and saying the following words :

Here I am, riding upon a black ram,
 Like a whore as I am :
 And for my crincum crancum,
 Have lost my bincum bancum.

Blount's *Fragmenta Antiq.* p. 144.

Nares's Glossary affords the following illustration. "You must know, Sir, in a nobleman 'tis abusive; no, in him the serpigo, in a knight the *grincomes*, in a gentleman the Neapolitan scabb, and in a serving man or artificer the plaine pox." Jones's *Adrasta*, 1635. But see Wright's Glossary, sub voc. *Crincombes*, *Crancum*, *Grincomes*.

¹ Aches was a dissyllable in Butler's time, and long afterwards. See note ³ at page 191.

² In some countries, after the wife has recovered from her lying in, it has been the custom for the husband to go to bed, and be treated with the same care and tenderness. See Apollonius Rhodius, II. 1013, and Valerius Flaccus, v. 148. The history of mankind hath scarcely furnished any thing more unaccountable than the prevalence of this custom. We meet with it in ancient and modern times, in the Old World and in the New, among nations who could never have had the least intercourse with each other. It is practised in China, and in Purchas's *Pilgrims* it is said to be practised among the Brazilians. At Haarlem, a cambric cockade hung to the door, shows that the woman of the house is brought to bed, and that her husband claims a protection from arrests during the six weeks of his wife's confinement. *Polnitz Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 396.

³ Raw and inexperienced youths; green is still used in the same sense. Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, Act iv. sc. 5, says :

And we have done but *greenly* to inter him.

'Tis hard to say in multitudes, 715
 Or who imported the French goods.¹
 But health and sickness b'ing all one,
 Which both engag'd before to own,²
 And are not with their bodies bound
 To worship, only when they're sound, 720
 Both give and take their equal shares
 Of all they suffer by false wares ;
 A fate no lover can divert
 With all his caution, wit, and art :
 For 'tis in vain to think to guess 725
 At women by appearances,
 That paint and patch their imperfections
 Of intellectual complexions,
 And daub their tempers o'er with washes
 As artificial as their faces ; 730
 Wear under vizard-masks³ their talents
 And mother-wits before their gallants ;

¹ Nicholas Monardes, a physician of Seville, who died 1577, tells us, that this disease was supposed to have been brought into Europe at the siege of Naples, from the West Indies, by some of Columbus's sailors who accompanied him to Naples, on his return from his first voyage in 1493. When peace was there made between the French and Spaniards, the armies of both nations had free intercourse, and conversing with the same women were infected by this disorder. The Spaniards thought they had received the contagion from the French, and the French maintained that it had been communicated to them by the Spaniards. Guicciardini, at the end of his second book of the History of Italy, dates the origin of this distemper in Europe, at the year 1495. But Dr Gascoigne, as quoted by Anthony Wood, says he knew several persons who had died of it in his time, that is, before 1457, in which year his will was proved. Indeed, after all the pains which have been taken by inquisitive writers to prove that this disease was brought from America, or the West Indies, the fact is not sufficiently established. Perhaps it was generated in Guinea, or some other equinoctial part of Africa. Astruc, who wrote the History of Diseases, says it was brought from the West Indies, between the years 1494 and 1496. In the earliest printed book on the subject, *Leonicens de Epidemia quam Itali Morbem Gallicum, Galli vero Neapolitanum vocant, Venet. Aldi*, 1497, the disease is said to have been till then unknown in Ferrara.

² Alluding to the words of the marriage ceremony: so in the following lines,

—with their bodies bound
 To worship.

³ Masks were introduced at the Restoration, and were then worn as a

Until they're hamper'd in the noose,
 Too fast to dream of breaking loose :
 When all the flaws they strove to hide 735
 Are made unready with the bride,
 That with her wedding-clothes undresses
 Her complaisance and gentilleses ;
 Tries all her arts to take upon her
 The government, from th' easy owner ; 740
 Until the wretch is glad to wave
 His lawful right, and turn her slave ;
 Finds all his having and his holding
 Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding ;
 The conjugal petard, that tears 745
 Down all portcullices of ears,¹
 And makes the volley of one tongue
 For all their leathern shields too strong ;
 When only arm'd with noise and nails,
 The female silkworms ride the males,² 750
 Transform 'em into rams and goats,
 Like syrens, with their charming notes ;³
 Sweet as a screech-owl's serenade,
 Or those enchanting murmurs made
 By th' husband mandrake, and the wife, 755
 Both buried, like themselves, alive.⁴
 Quoth he, these reasons are but strains
 Of wanton, over-heated brains,

distinctive sign by the gay ladies of the theatre. Afterwards the use of them became more general.

¹ The poet humorously compares the noise and clamour of a scolding wife, which breaks the drum of her husband's ears, to the petard, or short cannon, used for beating down the gates of a castle.

² This was one of the early beliefs respecting the silkworm. See Edward Williams' *Virginia's richly valued*, Lond. 1650, p. 26.

³ The Sirens, according to the poets, were three sea-monsters, half women and half fish ; their names were Parthenope, Ligea, and Leucosia. Their usual residence was about the island of Sicily, where, by the charming melody of their voices, they used to detain those that heard them, and then transformed them into some sort of brute animals.

⁴ Ancient botanists entertained various conceits about this plant ; in its forked roots they discovered the shapes of men and women ; and the sound which proceeded from its strong fibres when strained or torn from the ground, they took for the voice of a human being ; sometimes they imagined that they had distinctly heard their conversation. The poet takes the liberty of enlarging upon those hints, and represents the mandrake

Which ralliers in their wit or drink
 Do rather wheedle with, than think. 760
 Man was not man in paradise,
 Until he was created twice,
 And had his better half, his bride,
 Carv'd from th' original, his side,¹
 T' amend his natural defects, 765
 And perfect his recruited sex ;
 Enlarge his breed, at once, and lessen
 The pains and labour of increasing,
 By changing them for other cares,
 As by his dried-up paps appears. 770
 His body, that stupendous frame,
 Of all the world the anagram,²
 Is of two equal parts compact,
 In shape and symmetry exact,
 Of which the left and female side 775
 Is to the manly right a bride,³

husband and wife quarrelling under ground ; a situation, he says, not more uncomfortable than that of a married pair continually at variance, since these, if not in fact buried alive, are so virtually.

¹ Thus Cleveland :

Adam, 'till his rib was lost,
 Had the sexes thus engrost.
 When Providence our sire did cleave,
 And out of Adam carved Eve,
 Then did man 'bout wedlock treat,
 To make his body up complete.

² Anagram means a transposition of the letters of a word by which a new meaning is extracted from it ; as in Dr Burney's well-known anagram of Horatio Nelson—Honor est a Nilo. Man is often called the microcosm, or world in miniature, and it is in this sense that Butler describes him.

³ In the Symposium of Plato, Aristophanes, one of the dialogists, relates, that the human species, at its original formation, consisted not only of males and females, but of a third kind, combining both sexes in one. This last species, it is said, having rebelled against Jupiter, was, by way of punishment, completely divided ; whence the strong propensity which inclines the separate parts to a reünion, and the assumed origin of love. And since it is hardly possible that the dissevered moieties should stumble upon each other, after they have wandered about the earth, we may, upon the same hypothesis, account for the number of unhappy and disproportionate matches which men daily encounter, by saying that they mistake their proper halves. Moore makes a happy use of this notion in speaking of ballad music before it is wedded to poetry : "A pretty air without words resembles one of those *half* creatures of Plato, which are described as wandering in search of the remainder of themselves through the world."—*National Airs*.

Both join'd together with such art,
 That nothing else but death can part.
 Those heav'n'l' attracts of yours, your eyes,
 And face, that all the world surprise, 780
 That dazzle all that look upon ye,
 And scorch all other ladies tawny :
 Those ravishing and charming graces,
 Are all made up of two half faces
 That, in a mathematic line, 785
 Like those in other heavens, join ;¹
 Of which, if either grew alone,
 'Twould fright as much to look upon :
 And so would that sweet bud, your lip,
 Without the other's fellowship. 790
 Our noblest senses act by pairs,
 Two eyes to see, to hear two ears ;
 Th' intelligencers of the mind,
 To wait upon the soul design'd :
 But those that serve the body alone, 795
 Are single and confin'd to one.
 The world is but two parts, that meet
 And close at th' equinoctial fit ;
 And so are all the works of nature,
 Stamp'd with her signature on matter ; 800
 Which all her creatures, to a leaf,
 Or smallest blade of grass, receive.²
 All which sufficiently declare
 How entirely marriage is her care,
 The only method that she uses, 805
 In all the wonders she produces ;
 And those that take their rules from her
 Can never be deceiv'd, nor err :
 For what secures the civil life,
 But pawns of children, and a wife ?³ 810
 That lie, like hostages, at stake,
 To pay for all men undertake ;

¹ That is, that join insensibly in an imperceptible line, like the imaginary lines of mathematicians. *Other heavens*, that is, the real heavens.

² Alluding to the sexual laws of nature, as typified in plants down to the smallest forms.

³ See Lord Bacon's Essay, No. viii.

To whom it is as necessary
 As to be born and breathe, to marry ;
 So universal, all mankind 815
 In nothing else is of one mind :
 For in what stupid age, or nation,
 Was marriage ever out of fashion ?
 Unless among the Amazons,¹
 Or cloister'd friars and vestal nuns, 820
 Or Stoics, who, to bar the freaks
 And loose excesses of the sex,
 Prepost'rously would have all women
 Turn'd up to all the world in common ;²
 Tho' men would find such mortal feuds 825
 In sharing of their public goods,
 'Twould put them to more charge of lives,
 Than they're supply'd with now by wives ;
 Until they graze, and wear their clothes,
 As beasts do, of their native growths :³ 830
 For simple wearing of their horns
 Will not suffice to serve their turns.
 For what can we pretend t' inherit,
 Unless the marriage deed will bear it ?
 Could claim no right to lands or rents, 835
 But for our parents' settlements ;
 Had been but younger sons o' th' earth,
 Debarr'd it all, but for our birth.⁴
 What honours, or estates of peers,
 Could be preserv'd but by their heirs ? 840
 And what security maintains
 Their right and title, but the banns ?

¹ The Amazons, according to the old mythological stories, avoided marriage and permitted no men to live amongst them, nevertheless held periodical intercourse with them. The vestals were under a vow of perpetual chastity.

² Diogenes asserted that marriage was nothing but an empty name. And Zeno, the father of the Stoics, maintained that all women ought to be common, that no words were obscene, and no parts of the body need be covered.

³ i. e. such intercommunity of women would be productive of the worst consequences, unless mankind were reduced to the most barbarous state of nature, and men became altogether brutes.

⁴ If there had been no matrimony, we should have had no provision made for us by our forefathers ; but, like younger children of our primitive parent the earth, should have been excluded from every possession.

What crowns could be hereditary,
 If greatest monarchs did not marry,
 And with their consorts consummate
 Their weightiest interests of state ? 845
 For all th' amours of princes are
 But guarantees of peace or war.
 Or what but marriage has a charm,
 The rage of empires to disarm ? 850
 Make blood and desolation cease,
 And fire and sword unite in peace,
 When all their fierce contests for forage
 Conclude in articles of marriage ?
 Nor does the genial bed provide 855
 Less for the int'rests of the bride,
 Who else had not the least pretence
 T' as much as due benevolence ;
 Could no more title take upon her
 To virtue, quality, and honour, 860
 Than ladies errant, unconfin'd,
 And femme-coverts to all mankind.
 All women would be of one piece,
 The virtuous matron, and the miss ;
 The nymphs of chaste Diana's train 865
 The same with those in Lewkner's-lane,¹
 But for the diff'rence marriage makes
 'Twixt wives and Ladies of the Lakes :²
 Besides, the joys of place and birth,
 The sex's paradise on earth,³ 870
 A privilege so sacred held,
 That none will to their mothers yield ;

¹ Charles-street, Drury-lane, inhabited chiefly by strumpets.

² Meaning ladies of pleasure. The Lady of the Lake was represented in some of the old romances as a mistress of king Arthur.

³ Thus Mr Pope :

For sylphs, yet mindful of their ancient race,
 Are, as when women, wond'rous fond of place.

Our poet, though vindicating the ladies and the happy state of matrimony, cannot help introducing this stroke of satire : Bastards have no place, or rank.

But rather than not go before,
 Abandon heaven at the door :¹
 And if th' indulgent law allows 875
 A greater freedom to the spouse,
 The reason is, because the wife
 Runs greater hazards of her life ;
 Is trusted with the form and matter
 Of all mankind, by careful nature, 880
 Where man brings nothing but the stuff
 She frames the wond'rous fabric of ;
 Who therefore, in a strait, may freely
 Demand the clergy of her belly,²
 And make it save her the same way, 885
 It seldom misses to betray ;
 Unless both parties wisely enter
 Into the liturgy-indenture.³
 And tho' some fits of small contest
 Sometimes fall out among the best, 890
 That is no more than ev'ry lover
 Does from his hackney lady suffer ;
 That makes no breach of faith and love,
 But rather, sometimes, serves t'improve ;
 For as, in running, ev'ry pace 895
 Is but between two legs a race,
 In which both do their uttermost
 To get before, and win the post ;
 Yet when they're at their race's ends,
 They're still as kind and constant friends, 900
 And, to relieve their weariness,
 By turns give one another ease ;

¹ That is, will not even go to church if they have not their right of precedence. Chaucer says of the wife of Bath, 451 :

In all the parish wif ne was there non,
 That to the offering before hire shulde gon,
 And if ther did, certain so wroth was she,
 That she was out of alle charitee.

² Meaning benefit of clergy, on account of pregnancy. See note on line 522, at page 286.

³ This alludes to the form enjoined in the Directory, when it was contrary to law to be married by the service in the Book of Common Prayer.

So all those false alarms of strife
 Between the husband and the wife,
 And little quarrels, often prove 905
 To be but new recruits of love ;¹
 When those who're always kind or coy,²
 In time must either tire or cloy.
 Nor are their loudest clamours more
 Than as they're relish'd, sweet or sour ; 910
 Like music, that proves bad or good,
 According as 'tis understood.
 In all amours a lover burns
 With frowns, as well as smiles, by turns ;
 And hearts have been as oft with sullen, 915
 As charming looks, surpris'd and stolen :
 Then why should more bewitching clamour
 Some lovers not as much enamour ?
 For discords make the sweetest airs,
 And curses are a kind of pray'rs ; 920
 Too slight alloys for all those grand
 Felicities by marriage gain'd :
 For nothing else has pow'r to settle
 Th' interests of love perpetual ;
 An act and deed that makes one heart 925
 Become another's counter-part,
 And passes fines on faith and love,³
 Inroll'd and register'd above,
 To seal the slippery knots of vows,
 Which nothing else but death can loose. 930
 And what security's too strong
 To guard that gentle heart from wrong,
 That to its friend is glad to pass
 Itself away, and all it has,

¹ So Terence. The quarrels of lovers are the renewal of love. *Andria* III. 3.

² *Coy*, or *Coye*, is used here in the sense of toying or fondling. So Shakspeare,

“Come, sit thee down upon this flowery bed,
 While I thy amiable cheek do *coy*.”

Mids. N. D. Act iv. sc. 1.

But see Wright's Glossary *sub voce*.

³ That is, makes them irrevocable, and secures the title ; as passing a fine in law does a conveyance or settlement.

And, like an anchorite, gives over 935
 This world, for th' heav'n of a lover ?¹
 I grant, quoth she, there are some few
 Who take that course, and find it true ;
 But millions, whom the same does sentence
 To heav'n b' another way, repentance. 940
 Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,²
 Tho' all they hit they turn to lovers,
 And all the weighty consequents
 Depend upon more blind events
 Than gamesters when they play a set, 945
 With greatest cunning, at piquet,
 Put out with caution, but take in
 They know not what, unsight, unseen.
 For what do lovers, when they're fast
 In one another's arms embrac'd, 950
 But strive to plunder, and convey
 Each other, like a prize, away ?
 To change the property of selves,
 As sucking children are by elves ?³
 And if they use their persons so, 955
 What will they to their fortunes do ?
 Their fortunes ! the perpetual aims
 Of all their extasies and flames.
 For when the money's on the book,
 And "all my worldly goods"—but spoke,⁴ 960
 The formal livery and seisin
 That puts a lover in possession,
 To that alone the bridegroom's wedded,
 The bride a flam that's superseded ;
 To that their faith is still made good, 965
 And all the oaths to us they vow'd ;

¹ In this speech the Knight makes amends for previous uncourteousness, and defends the ladies and the married state with great gallantry, wit, and good sense.

² That is, shot at random, not at a target.

³ The fairies were believed to be capable of exchanging infants in the cradle for some of their own "Elfin brood," or for the children of other parents. See Keightley's Fairy Mythology.

⁴ Alluding to the form of marriage in the Common Prayer Book, where the fee is directed to be put upon the book with the wedding-ring, and the bridegroom endows the bride with all his worldly goods.

For when we once resign our pow'rs,
 We've nothing left we can call ours :
 Our money's now become the miss
 Of all your lives and services ; 970
 And we forsaken and postpon'd,
 But bawds to what before we own'd ;
 Which, as it made y' at first gallant us,
 So now hires others to supplant us,
 Until 'tis all turn'd out of doors, 975
 As we had been, for new amours.
 For what did ever heiress yet
 By being born to lordships get ?
 When the more lady she's of manors,
 She's but expos'd to more trepanners, 980
 Pays for their projects and designs,
 And for her own destruction fines ;¹
 And does but tempt them with her riches,
 To use her as the dev'l does witches,
 Who takes it for a special grace, 985
 To be their cully for a space,
 That, when the time's expir'd, the drazels²
 For ever may become his vassals :
 So she, bewitch'd by rooks and spirits,
 Betrays herself, and all sh' inherits ; 990
 Is bought and sold, like stolen goods,
 By pimps, and match-makers, and bawds ;
 Until they force her to convey
 And steal the thief himself away.
 These are the everlasting fruits 995
 Of all your passionate love-suits,
 Th' effects of all your am'rous fancies,
 To portions and inheritances ;
 Your love-sick raptures for fruition
 Of dowry, jointure, and tuition ; 1000
 To which you make address and courtship,
 And with your bodies strive to worship,

¹ Fines, signifies *pays* ; implying that her wealth, by exposing her to the snares of fortune-hunters, may be the cause of her destruction.

² The sluts or draggel-tails. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

That th' infant's fortunes may partake
 Of love too,¹ for the mother's sake.
 For these you play at purposes, 1005
 And love your loves with A's and B's;²
 For these, at Beast and l'Ombre woo,³
 And play for love and money too;⁴
 Strive who shall be the ablest man
 At right gallanting of a fan; 1010
 And who the most gentoelly bred
 At sucking of a vizard-bead;⁵
 How best t' accost us in all quarters,
 T' our Question and Command new garters;⁶
 And solidly discourse upon 1015
 All sorts of dresses *pro* and *con*:
 For there's no mystery nor trade,
 But in the art of love is made.⁷

¹ That is, the widow's children by a former husband, who are under age; to whom the lover would willingly be guardian, to have the management of the jointure.

² This is still imposed at forfeits. But see Pepys's Diary.

³ Fashionable games much in vogue in the time of Charles II. Ombre was introduced at the Restoration. Beast, or Angel-beast, was similar to Loo. "I love my love with an A," was one of the favourite amusements at Whitehall. Pepys tells us that he once found the Duke and Duchess of York, with all the great ladies at Whitehall, "sitting upon a carpet upon the ground, there being no chairs, playing at 'I love my love with an A, because he is so and so; and I hate him with an A, because of this and that;' and some of them, particularly the Duchess herself, and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty."

⁴ The widow, in these and the following lines, gives no bad sketch of a person who endeavours to retrieve his circumstances by marriage, and practises every method in his power to recommend himself to his rich mistress: he plays with her at Questions and Commands, endeavours to divert her with cards, puts himself in masquerade, flirts her fan, talks of flames and darts, aches and sufferings; which last, the poet intimates, might more justly be attributed to other causes.

⁵ Masks were kept close to the face, by a bead fixed to the inside of them, and held in the mouth, when the lady's hands were otherwise employed.

⁶ At the vulgar play of Questions and Commands, a forfeit was often to take off a lady's garter: expecting this therefore the lady provided herself with new ones.

⁷ That is, made use of, or practised.

And when you have more debts to pay
 Than Michaelmas and Lady-day,¹ 1020
 And no way possible to do 't
 But love and oaths, and restless suit,
 To us y' apply, to pay the scores
 Of all your cully'd past amours;
 Act o'er your flames and darts again, 1025
 And charge us with your wounds and pain;
 Which others' influences long since
 Have charm'd your noses with, and shins;
 For which the surgeon is unpaid,
 And like to be, without our aid. 1030
 Lord! what an am'rous thing is want!
 How debts and mortgages enchant!
 What graces must that lady have,
 That can from executions save!
 What charms, that can reverse extent, 1035
 And null degree and exigent!
 What magical attracts, and graces,
 That can redeem from *scire facias*!²
 From bonds and statutes can discharge,
 And from contempts of courts enlarge! 1040
 These are the highest excellencies
 Of all your true or false pretences;
 And you would damn yourselves and swear
 As much t' an hostess dowager,
 Grown fat and pury by retail 1045
 Of pots of beer and bottled ale,
 And find her fitter for your turn,
 For fat is wondrous apt to burn;
 Who at your flames would soon take fire,
 Relent, and melt to your desire, 1050

¹ These are the two principal rent days in the year: unsatisfactory to the landlord, when his outgoings exceed his incomings.

² Here the poet shows his knowledge of the law, and law terms, which he always uses with great propriety. *Execution* is obtaining possession of anything recovered by judgment of law. *Extent* is a writ of execution at the suit of the crown, which extends over all the defendant's lands and other property, in order to satisfy a bond, engagement, or forfeit. *Exigent* is a writ requiring a person to appear; and lies where the defendant in an action cannot personally be found, or on anything of his in the country, whereby he may be distrained. *Scire facias* is a writ to enforce the execution of judgment.

And, like a candle in the socket,
 Dissolves her graces int' your pocket.
 By this time 'twas grown dark and late,
 When th' heard a knocking at the gate
 Laid on in haste, with such a powder,¹ 1055
 The blows grew louder and still louder :
 Which Hudibras, as if they 'd been
 Bestow'd as freely on his skin,
 Expounding hy his Inward Light,
 Or rather more prophetic fright, 1060
 To be the wizard, come to search,
 And take him napping in the lurch,
 Turn'd pale as ashes, or a clout ;
 But why, or wherefore, is a doubt :
 For men will tremble, and turn paler, 1065
 With too much, or too little valour.
 His heart laid on, as if it tried
 To force a passage through his side,
 Impatient, as he vow'd, to wait 'em ;
 But in a fury to fly at 'em ; 1070
 And therefore beat, and laid about,
 To find a cranny to creep out.
 But she, who saw in what a taking
 The Knight was by his furious quaking,
 Undaunted cry'd, Courage, Sir Knight, 1075
 Know I'm resolv'd to break no rite
 Of hospitality t' a stranger ;
 But, to secure you out of danger,
 Will here myself stand sentinel,
 To guard this pass 'gainst Sidrophel : 1080
 Women, you know, do seldom fail,
 To make the stoutest men turn tail,
 And bravely scorn to turn their backs,
 Upon the desp'ratest attacks.
 At this the Knight grew resolute, 1085
 As Ironside, or Hardiknute ;²

¹ Haste, bustle. Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

² Two princes celebrated for their valour in the 11th century. The former the predecessor, the latter the son and successor, of Canute the Great

His fortitude began to rally,
 And out he cry'd aloud, to sally ;
 But she besought him to convey
 His courage rather out o' th' way, 1090
 And lodge in ambush out of the floor,
 Or fortified behind a door,
 That, if the enemy should enter,
 He might relieve her in th' adventure.
 Meanwhile they knock'd against the door 1095
 As fierce as at the gate before ;
 Which made the renegado Knight
 Relapse again t' his former fright.
 He thought it desperate to stay
 Till the enemy had forc'd his way, 1100
 But rather post himself to serve
 The lady for a fresh reserve.
 His duty was not to dispute,
 But what she 'd order'd execute ;
 Which he resolv'd in haste t' obey, 1105
 And therefore stoutly march'd away,
 And all h' encounter'd fell upon,
 Tho' in the dark, and all alone :
 Till fear, that braver feats performs
 Than ever courage dar'd in arms, 1110
 Had drawn him up before a pass,
 To stand upon his guard, and face :
 This he courageously invaded,
 And, having enter'd, barricado'd ;
 Ensconc'd himself as formidable 1115
 As could be underneath a table ;
 Where he lay down in ambush close,
 T' expect th' arrival of his foes.
 Few minutes he had lain perdue,
 To guard his desp'rate avenue, 1120
 Before he heard a dreadful shout,
 As loud as putting to the rout,
 With which impatiently alarm'd,
 He fancied th' enemy had storm'd,
 And after ent'ring, Sidrophel 1125
 Was fall'n upon the guards pell-mell ;

He therefore sent out all his senses
 To bring him in intelligences,
 Which vulgars, out of ignorance,
 Mistake for falling in a trance ; 1130
 But those that trade in geomancy,¹
 Affirm to be the strength of fancy ;
 In which the Lapland magi deal,²
 And things incredible reveal.
 Meanwhile the foe beat up his quarters, 1135
 And storm'd the outworks of his fortress ;
 And as another of the same
 Degree and party, in arms and fame,
 That in the same cause had engag'd
 And war with equal conduct wag'd, 1140
 By vent'ring only but to thrust
 His head a span beyond his post,
 B' a gen'ral of the cavaliers
 Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears :³
 So he was serv'd in his redoubt, 1145
 And by the other end pull'd out.
 Soon as they had him at their mercy,
 They put him to the cudgel fiercely,
 As if they scorn'd to trade and barter,
 By giving, or by taking quarter : 1150
 They stoutly on his quarters laid,
 Until his scouts came in t' his aid :
 For when a man is past his sense,
 There's no way to reduce him thence,
 But twingeing him by th' ears or nose, 1155
 Or laying on of heavy blows :

¹ A sort of divination by circles and pricks in the earth ; used here for any sort of conjuring. The Knight's trance was a swoon through fear.

² Lapland, on account of its remaining pagan so long, was celebrated through the rest of Europe as the country of magicians and witches. They are reputed to have obtained the revelations necessary to making their predictions during trances.

³ This circumstance happened to Sir Richard Philips, of Picton Castle, in Pembrokeshire. The Cavaliers, commanded by Colonel Egerton, attacked this place, and demanded a parley. Sir Richard consented ; and, being a little man, stepped upon a bench, and showed himself at one of the windows. The colonel, who was high in stature, sat on horseback underneath ; and pretending to be deaf, desired the other to come as near

And if that will not do the deed,
To burning with hot irons proceed.¹

No sooner was he come t' himself,
But on his neck a sturdy elf 1160
Clapp'd in a trice his cloven hoof,
And thus attack'd him with reproof:

Mortal, thou art betray'd to us
B' our friend, thy evil genius,
Who for thy horrid perjuries, 1165
Thy breach of faith, and turning lies,
The brethren's privilege against
The wicked, on themselves, the saints,
Has here thy wretched carcass sent,
For just revenge and punishment; 1170
Which thou hast now no way to lessen,
But by an open, free confession:²
For if we catch thee failing once,
'Twill fall the heavier on thy bones.

What made thee venture to betray, 1175
And filch the lady's heart away,
To spirit her to matrimony?—

That which contracts all matches, money.
It was th' enchantment of her riches,
That made m' apply t' your crony witches;³ 1180
That in return would pay th' expense,
The wear and tear of conscience,⁴
Which I could have patch'd up, and turn'd,
For th' hundredth part of what I earn'd.

Didst thou not love her then? Speak true. 1185
No more, quoth he, than I love you.—

How would'st thou've us'd her, and her money?
First turn'd her up to alimony;⁵

him as he could. Sir Richard then leaned a good deal from the window; when the colonel seized him by the ears, and drew him out. Soon after the castle surrendered.

¹ Alluding to the use of cautery in apoplexy.

² This scene is imitated, but with much less wit and learning, in a poem called Dunstable Downs, falsely attributed to Butler.

³ Your old friends and companions.

⁴ The Knight confesses that he would have sacrificed his conscience to money; in reality, he had rid himself of it long before.

⁵ To provide for herself, as horses do when they are turned to grass. The poet might possibly intend a *jeu de mot*. *Alimony* is a separate main-

And laid her dowry out in law,
 To null her jointure with a flaw, 1190
 Which I beforehand had agreed
 T' have put, on purpose, in the deed,
 And bar her widow's-making-over
 T' a friend in trust, or private lover.

What made thee pick and chuse her out 1195
 T' employ their sorceries about?—

That which makes gamesters play with those
 Who have least wit, and most to lose.

But didst thou scourge thy vessel thus,
 As thou hast damn'd thyself to us?— 1200

I see you take me for an ass:
 'Tis true, I thought the trick would pass
 Upon a woman well enough,
 As 't has been often found by proof;
 Whose humours are not to be won 1205
 But when they are impos'd upon;
 For love approves of all they do
 That stand for candidates, and woo.

Why didst thou forge those shameful lies
 Of bears and witches in disguise?— 1210

That is no more than authors give
 The rabble credit to believe;
 A trick of following their leaders,
 To entertain their gentle readers;
 And we have now no other way 1215
 Of passing all we do or say;
 Which, when 'tis natural and true,
 Will be believ'd b' a very few,
 Beside the danger of offence,
 The fatal enemy of sense. 1220

Why dost thou chuse that cursed sin,
 Hypocrisy, to set up in?—

Because it is the thriving'st calling,
 The only saints' bell that rings all in;¹

tenance paid by the husband to the wife, where she is not convicted of adultery. The Earl of Strafford relates a case rather worse than Hudibras intended;—Queen Elizabeth reprimanded Stakeley for ill-using his wife, to which he replied, that “he had already turned her into her petticoat, and if any one could make more of her, they might take her for him.”

¹ The small bell, which rings immediately before the minister begins the

In which all churches are concern'd, 1225
 And is the easiest to be learn'd :
 For no degrees, unless th' employ it,
 Can ever gain much, or enjoy it.
 A gift that is not only able
 To domineer among the rabble, 1230
 But by the laws empower'd to rout,
 And awe the greatest that stand out ;
 Which few hold forth against, for fear
 Their hands should slip, and come too near ;
 For no sin else, among the saints, 1235
 Is taught so tenderly against.

What made thee break thy plighted vows ?—
 That which makes others break a house,
 And hang, and scorn ye all, before
 Endure the plague of being poor. 1240

Quoth he, I see you have more tricks
 Than all our doating politics,
 That are grown old and out of fashion,
 Compar'd with your new Reformation ;
 That we must come to school to you, 1245
 To learn your more refin'd and new.

Quoth he, If you will give me leave
 To tell you what I now perceive,
 You'll find yourself an arrant chouse,
 If y' were but at a Meeting-house. 1250

'Tis true, quoth he, we ne'er come there,
 Because w' have let 'em out by th' year.¹

Truly, quoth he, you can't imagine
 What wond'rous things they will engage in ;
 That as your fellow-fiends in hell 1255
 Were angels all before they fell,
 So are you like to be agen,
 Compar'd with th' angels of us men.²

church service, is called the saints' bell; and when the clerk has rung it he says, "he has rung all in."

¹ The devils are here looked upon as landlords of the meeting-houses, since the tenants of them were known to be so diabolical, and to hold them by no good title; but as it was uncertain how long these lawless times would last, the poet makes the devils let them only by the year: now when anything is actually let, landlords never come there, that is, have excluded themselves from all right to the use of the premises.

² I remember an old attorney, who told me, a little before his death, that

Quoth he, I am resolv'd to be
 Thy scholar in this mystery ; 1260
 And therefore first desire to know
 Some principles on which you go.
 What makes a knave a child of God,¹
 And one of us ?²—A livelihood.
 What renders beating out of brains 1265
 And murder, godliness ?—Great gains.
 What's tender conscience ?—'Tis a botch
 That will not bear the gentlest touch ;
 But, breaking out, dispatches more
 Than th' epidemical'st plague-sore.³ 1270
 What makes y' encroach upon our trade,
 And damn all others ?—To be paid.
 What's orthodox and true believing
 Against a conscience ?—A good living.⁴
 What makes rebelling against kings 1275
 A Good Old Cause ?—Administ'rings.⁵
 What makes all doctrines plain and clear ?—
 About two hundred pounds a year.
 And that which was prov'd true before,
 Prove false again ?—Two hundred more. 1280

he had been reckoned a very great rascal, and believed he was so, for he had done many roguish and infamous things in his profession : “ but,” adds he, “ by what I can observe of the rising generation, the time may come, and you may live to see it, when I shall be accounted a very honest man, in comparison with those attorneys who are to succeed me.” *Nash*.

¹ A banter on the pamphlets in those days, under the name and form of Catechisms: Heylin's Rebel's Catechism, Watson's Cavalier's Catechism, Ram's Soldier's Catechism, Parker's Political Catechism, &c. &c.

² Both Presbyterians and Independents were fond of saying *one of us* ; that is, one of the holy brethren, the elect number, the godly party.

³ Alluding to the Great Plague of London, in 1665, which destroyed 68,586 people. Defoe gives a very graphic and painfully interesting account of it.

⁴ A committee was appointed November 11, 1646, to inquire into the value of all church-livings, in order to plant an able ministry, as was pretended ; but, in truth, to discover the best and fattest benefices, that the champions of the cause might choose for themselves. Whereof some had three or four a-piece ; a lack being pretended of competent pastors. When a living was small, the church doors were shut up. “ I could name an assembly-man,” says Sir William Dugdale, in his Short View, “ who being told by an eminent person that a certain church had no incumbent, inquired the value of it ; and receiving for answer that it was about £50 a-year, he said, if it be no better worth, no godly man will accept it.”

⁵ —Administerings. See P. iii. c. ii. v. 55.

What makes the breaking of all oaths
A holy duty?—Food and clothes.

What laws and freedom, persecution?—
B'ing out of power, and contribution.

What makes a church a den of thieves?— 1285
A dean and chapter, and white sleeves.¹

And what would serve, if those were gone,
To make it orthodox?—Our own.

What makes morality a crime,²
The most notorious of the time ; 1290

Morality, which both the saints
And wicked too cry out against?—

'Cause grace and virtue are within
Prohibited degrees of kin ;

And therefore no true saint allows 1295
They should be suffer'd to espouse :

For saints can need no conscience,
That with morality dispense ;

As virtue's impious, when 'tis rooted
In nature only, 'nd not imputed : 1300

But why the wicked should do so,
We neither know, nor care to do.

What's liberty of conscience,
I' th' natural and genuine sense ?

'Tis to restore, with more security, 1305
Rebellion to its ancient purity ;

And Christian liberty reduce
To th' elder practice of the Jews ;

For a large conscience is all one,
And signifies the same, with none.³ 1310

It is enough, quoth he, for once,
And has repriev'd thy forfeit bones :

¹ That is, a bishop who wears lawn sleeves.

² Moral goodness was deemed a mean attainment, and much beneath the character of saints, who held grace and inspiration to be all meritorious, and virtue to have no merit; nay, some even thought virtue impious, when it is rooted only in nature, and not imputed; some of the modern sects are supposed to hold tenets not very unlike this. *Nash.*

³ It is reported of Judge Jefferys, that taking a dislike to a witness who had a long beard, he told him that "if his conscience was as long as his beard, he had a swinging one:" to which the countryman replied, "My Lord, if you measure consciences by beards, you have none at all."

Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick
 Tho' he gave his name to our Old Nick,¹
 But was below the least of these, 1315
 That pass i' th' world for holiness.
 This said, the furies and the light
 In th' instant vanish'd out of sight,
 And left him in the dark alone,
 With stinks of brimstone and his own. 1320
 The Queen of night, whose large command
 Rules all the sea, and half the land,²
 And over moist and crazy brains,
 In high spring-tides, at midnight reigns,³
 Was now declining to the west, 1325
 To go to bed and take her rest;
 When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows
 Deny'd his bones that soft repose,
 Lay still expecting worse and more,
 Stretch'd out at length upon the floor; 1330
 And tho' he shut his eyes as fast
 As if he'd been to sleep his last,
 Saw all the shapes that fear or wizards,
 Do make the devil wear for vizards;
 And pricking up his ears, to hark 1335
 If he could hear, too, in the dark,
 Was first invaded with a groan,
 And after, in a feeble tone,
 These trembling words: Unhappy wretch,
 What hast thou gotten by this fetch, 1340

¹ Nicholas Machiavelli was the great Florentine Historian and Statesman of the 16th cent. His political principles were loudly condemned by the Puritans, because they considered them identified with those of Charles I. Nick is a name of the devil, taken from the old Scandinavian and Teutonic name of a kind of water-spirit. See Keightley's Fairy Mythology. When Machiavel is represented as such a proficient in wickedness, that his name hath become an appellation for the devil himself, we are not less entertained by the smartness of the sentiment, than we should be if it were supported by the truth of history. By the same kind of poetical license Empedocles, in the second canto, is humorously said to have been acquainted with the writings of Alexander Ross, who did not live till about 2000 years after him.

² The moon is here said to influence the tides and motions of the sea, and half mankind, who are assumed to be more or less lunatic.

³ Insane persons are supposed to be worst at the change and full of the moon, when the tides are highest.

Or all thy tricks, in this new trade,
 Thy holy brotherhood o' th' blade? ¹
 By saunt'ring still on some adventure,
 And growing to thy horse a centaur? ²
 To stuff thy skin with swelling knobs 1345
 Of cruel and hard-wooded drubs?

For still thou'st had the worst on't yet,
 As well in conquest as defeat:
 Night is the sabbath of mankind,
 To rest the body and the mind, 1350
 Which now thou art deny'd to keep,

And cure thy labour'd corpse with sleep.
 The Knight, who heard the words, explain'd
 As meant to him this reprimand,
 Because the character did hit 1355
 Point-blank upon his case so fit;

Believ'd it was some drolling spright
 That staid upon the guard that night,
 And one of those he'd seen, and felt
 The drubs he had so freely dealt; 1360
 When, after a short pause and groan,

The doleful spirit thus went on:

This 'tis t' engage with dogs and bears
 Pell-mell together by the ears,
 And after painful bangs and knocks, 1365
 To lie in limbo in the stocks,
 And from the pinnacle of glory
 Fall headlong into purgatory;

¹ Meaning this religious knight-errantry: this search after trifling offences, with intent to punish them as crying sins. Ralpho, who now supposed himself alone, vents his sorrows in this soliloquy, which is so artfully worded, as equally to suit his own case and the Knight's, and to censure the conduct of both. Hence the latter applies the whole as meant to be directed to himself, and comments upon it accordingly to v. 1400, after which the squire improves on his master's mistake, and counterfeits the ghost in earnest. This seems to have been Butler's meaning, though not readily to be collected from his words. *Holy brotherhood* alludes to the society instituted in Spain, called La Santa Hermandad, employed in detecting and apprehending thieves and robbers, and executing other parts of the police.

² The Centaurs were a people of Thessaly, and supposed to be the first managers of horses. Strangers, who had never seen any such thing before, reported them to be half man and half beast.

(Thought he, this devil's full of malice,
That on my late disasters rallies.) 1370
Condemn'd to whipping, but declin'd it,
By being more heroic-minded ;
And at a riding handled worse,
With treats more slovenly and coarse :¹
Engag'd with fiends in stubborn wars, 1375
And hot disputes with conjurers ;
And, when thou 'dst bravely won the day,
Wast fain to steal thyself away—
(I see, thought he, this shameless elf
Would fain steal me too from myself,² 1380
That impudently dares to own
What I have suffer'd for and done) ;
And now, but vent'ring to betray,
Hast met with vengeance the same way.
Thought he, how does the devil know 1385
What 'twas that I design'd to do ?
His office of intelligence,
His oracles, are ceas'd long since ;³
And he knows nothing of the saints,
But what some treach'rous spy acquaints. 1390
This is some pettifogging fiend,
Some under door-keeper's friend's friend,
That undertakes to understand,
And juggles at the second-hand,
And now would pass for Spirit Po,⁴ 1395
And all men's dark concerns foreknow.
I think I need not fear him for't ;
These rallying devils do no hurt.⁵

¹ Alluding to the result of the Knight's attempt to put down the Skimmington.

² A phrase used by Horace, *Carm.* lib. iv. Od. 13, v. 20 ; also by Ben Jonson in his *Tale of a Tub*, Act iii. sc. 5.

³ The heathen oracles were said to have ceased at the Nativity. See Milton's *Ode*.

⁴ Tom Po was a common name for a spectre. The word seems to be akin to *bug* in "bugbear;" to the Dutch *bauw*, a spectre ; and to the Welsh *bo*, a hobgoblin. One son of Odin was named Po or Bo.

⁵ Grey illustrates this by the story of two male servants, one of whom alarmed the other, who was very apprehensive of the devil, by getting under the bed at night time and playing pranks ; but happening to make a natural explosion, the frightened man recovered himself, and cried out, "Oh ! oh !

With that he rous'd his drooping heart,
And hastily cry'd out, What art?— 1400

A wretch, quoth he, whom want of grace
Has brought to this unhappy place.

I do believe thee, quoth the Knight ;
Thus far I'm sure thou'rt in the right ;
And know what 'tis that troubles thee, 1405
Better than thou hast guess'd of me.

Thou art some paltry, blackguard spright,
Condemn'd to drudg'ry in the night ;
Thou hast no work to do i' th' house,
Nor halfpenny to drop in shoes ;¹ 1410

Without the raising of which sum
You dare not be so troublesome
To pinch the slatterns black and blue,
For leaving you their work to do.
This is your bus'ness, good Pug-Robin,² 1415
And your diversion dull dry bobbing,

if thou art a f—g devil, have at thee, I am not afraid ;" and therewith got up and thrashed him.

¹ One of the current superstitions of the olden time about fairies was, that if servant-maids, before going to bed, swept up their hearths clean, brightened the furniture, and left a pail full of clean water for bathing in, they would find money in their shoes ; if they left the house dirty they would be pinched in their sleep. Thus the old ballad of Robin Goodfellow, who perhaps was the sprite meant by Pug-Robin ;

When house or hearth doth sluttish lie,
I pinch the maids both black and blue :
And from the bed, the bed-cloths I
Pull off, and lay them nak'd to view.

Again, speaking of fairies :

Such sort of creatures as would bast ye
A kitchen wench, for being nasty :
But if she neatly scour her pewter,
Give her the money that is due t' her.
Every night before we go,
We drop a tester in her shoe.

See Shakspeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Merry Wives of Windsor* ; *Perey's Reliques* ; and *Keightley's Fairy Mythology*.

² Pug-Robin, or Robin Goodfellow, was a kind of merry sprite, whose character and achievements are frequently recorded by the poets, particularly in the well-known lines of Shakspeare, *Mids. Night's Dream*, Act ii. se. 1. Pug is the same as Puck. *Dry bobbing* here means dry jesting.

T^o entice fanatics in the dirt,
 And wash 'em clean in ditches for't ;
 Of which conceit you are so proud,
 At ev'ry jest you laugh aloud, 1420
 As now you would have done by me,
 But that I barr'd your raillery.

Sir, quoth the Voice, ye're no such sophy¹
 As you would have the world judge of ye.
 If you design to weigh our talents 1425
 I' th' standard of your own false balance,
 Or think it possible to know
 Us ghosts, as well as we do you,
 We who have been the everlasting
 Companions of your drubs and basting, 1430
 And never left you in contest,
 With male or female, man or beast,
 But prov'd as true t' ye, and entire,
 In all adventures, as your Squire.

Quoth he, That may be said as true, 1435
 By th' idlest pug of all your crew ;
 For none could have betray'd us worse
 Than those allies of ours and yours.²
 But I have sent him for a token
 To your low-country Hogen-Mogen, 1440
 To whose infernal shores I hope
 He'll swing like skippers³ in a rope :
 And if ye've been more just to me,
 As I am apt to think, than he,
 I am afraid it is as true 1445
 What th' ill-affected say of you :
 Ye've 'spous'd the Covenant and Cause
 By holding up your cloven paws.⁴

¹ You are no such wise person, or sophister, from the Greek *σόφος*.

² Meaning the Independents, or Ralpho, whom he says he had sent to the infernal Hogen-Mogen (from the Dutch *Hoogmogende*, high and mighty, or the devil,) supposing he would be hung.

³ Skipper is the Dutch for the master of a sloop, generally a good climber.

⁴ When persons took the Covenant, they attested their obligation to observe its principles by lifting up their hands to heaven. Of this South says, satirically, "Holding up their hands was a sign that they were ready to strike." The Covenant here means the Solemn League and Covenant,

Sir, quoth the Voice, 'tis true, I grant,¹
 We made, and took the Covenant : 1450
 But that no more concerns the Cause,
 Than other perjuries do the laws,
 Which, when they're prov'd in open court,
 Wear wooden peccadillos for't :²
 And that's the reason Cov'nanters 1455
 Hold³ up their hands, like rogues at bars.

I see, quoth Hudibras, from whence
 These scandals of the saints commence,⁴
 That are but natural effects
 Of Satan's malice, and his sects, 1460
 Those spider-saints, that hang by threads
 Spun out o' th' entrails of their heads.

Sir, quoth the Voice, that may as true⁵
 And properly be said of you,
 Whose talents may compare with either,⁶ 1465
 Or both the other put together :
 For all the Independents do,
 Is only what you forc'd 'em to ;
 You, who are not content alone
 With tricks to put the devil down, 1470
 But must have armies rais'd to back
 The Gospel-work you undertake ;
 As if artillery and edge-tools,
 Were th' only engines to save souls :

framed by the Scots, and adopted by the English, ordered to be read in all churches, when every person was bound to give his consent, by holding up his hand at the reading of it.

¹ Ralpho, the supposed sprite, allows that they, the devil and the Independents, had engag'd in the Covenant; but he insists that the violation of it was not at all prejudicial to the cause they had undertaken and for which it was framed.

² A *peccadillo*, or more correctly *Piccadil*, was a stiff collar or ruff worn round the neck and shoulders. Ludicrously it means the pillory. This collar came into fashion in the reign of James I., and is supposed to have given the name to Piecadilly.

³ Some editions read "*held up*."

⁴ That is, the scandalous reflections on the saints, such as charging the Covenant with perjury, and making the Covenanter no better than a rogue at the bar.

⁵ Hudibras having been hard upon Satan and the Independents, the voice undertakes the defence of each, but first of the Independents.

⁶ That is, either with the Independents or with the devil.

While he, poor devil, has no pow'r¹ 1475
 By force to run down and devour ;
 Has ne'er a Classis, cannot sentence
 To stools, or poundage of repentance ;
 Is ty'd up only to design,
 T' entice, and tempt, and undermine : 1480
 In which you all his arts outdo,
 And prove yourselves his betters too.
 Hence 'tis possessions do less evil
 Than mere temptations of the devil,²
 Which, all the horrid'st actions done, 1485
 Are charg'd in courts of law upon ;³
 Because, unless they⁴ help the elf,
 He can do little of himself ;
 And, therefore, where he's best possest
 Acts most against his interest ; 1490
 Surprises none but those who've priests
 To turn him out, and exorcists,
 Supply'd with spiritual provision,
 And magazines of ammunition ;
 With crosses, relics, crucifixes, 1495
 Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes ;
 The tools of working our salvation
 By mere mechanic operation :
 With holy water, like a sluice,
 To overflow all avenues : 1500
 But those who're utterly unarm'd,
 T' oppose his entrance, if he storm'd,

¹ *He*, that is, the Independent, has no power, having no classis, or spiritual jurisdiction, to distress us by open and authorized vexations. Stools mean stools of repentance, on which persons were compelled to stand and do penance for their sins. Poundage is the commutation of punishment for a sum of money.

² He argues that men who are influenced by the devil, and co-operate with him, commit greater wickedness than he is able to perpetrate by his own agency. We seldom hear, therefore, of his taking an entire possession. The persons who complain most of his doing so, are those who are well furnished with the means of exorcising and ejecting him, such as relics, crucifixes, beads, pictures, rosaries, &c.

³ "Not having the fear of God before their eyes, but being led by the instigation of the devil," is the form of indictment for felony, murder, and other atrocious crimes.

⁴ Some editions read "*you* help."

He never offers to surprise,
 Altho' his falsest enemies ;¹
 But is content to be their drudge, 1505
 And on their errands glad to trudge :
 For where are all your forfeitures
 Intrusted in safe hands, but ours ?
 Who are but jailors of the holes
 And dungeons where you clap up souls ;² 1510
 Like under-keepers, turn the keys,
 T' your *mittimus* anathemas,
 And never boggle to restore
 The members you deliver o'er
 Upon demand, with fairer justice, 1515
 Than all you Covenanting Trustees ;³
 Unless, to punish them the worse,
 You put them in the secular powers,
 And pass their souls, as some demise
 The same estate in mortgage twice :⁴ 1520
 When to a legal utlegation
 You turn your excommunication,⁵
 And, for a groat unpaid that's due,
 Distrain on soul and body too.⁶
 Thought he, 'tis no mean part of civil 1525
 State-prudence to cajole the devil,
 And not to handle him too rough,
 When h' has us in his cloven hoof.

¹ The enthusiasm of the Independents was something new in its kind, nor much allied to superstition.

² Keep those in hell whom you are pleased to send thither by excommunication, *mittimus*, or anathema : as jailors and turnkeys confine their prisoners.

³ More honestly than the Presbyterians surrendered the estates which they held in trust for one another ; these trustees were generally Covenanters. See Part i. e. i. v. 76, and Part iii. e. ii. v. 55.

⁴ This alludes to the case of a Mr Sherfield, who mortgaged his estate to half a dozen different people, having by a previous deed demised it *for pious uses*, so that all lost their money. See Strafford's Letters, 1739, vol. i. p. 206.

⁵ You call down the vengeance of the civil magistrate upon them, and in this second instance pass over, that is, take no notice of, their souls : the ecclesiastical courts can excommunicate, and then they apply to the civil court for an outlawry. *Utlegation* means outlawry.

⁶ Seize the party by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*.

'Tis true, quoth he, that intercourse
 Has pass'd between your friends and ours, 1530
 That, as you trust us, in our way,
 To raise your members, and to lay,¹
 We send you others of our own,
 Denounc'd to hang themselves, or drown,²
 Or, frighted with our oratory, 1535
 To leap down headlong many a story ;
 Have us'd all means to propagate
 Your mighty interests of state,
 Laid out our sp'ritual gifts to further
 Your great designs of rage and murther : 1540
 For if the saints are nam'd from blood,
 We onl' have made that title good ;³
 And, if it were but in our power,
 We should not scruple to do more,
 And not be half a soul behind 1545
 Of all dissenters of mankind.

Right, quoth the Voice, and, as I scorn
 To be ungrateful, in return
 Of all those kind good offices,
 I'll free you out of this distress, 1550
 And set you down in safety, where
 It is no time to tell you here.
 The cock crows,⁴ and the morn draws on,
 When 'tis decreed I must be gone ;
 And if I leave you here till day, 1555
 You'll find it hard to get away.

With that the Spirit grop'd about
 To find th' enchanted hero out,

¹ *Your friends and ours*, that is, you devils and us fanatics: that as you trust us in our way, to raise you devils, and to lay them again when done with. *Nash*.

² It is probable that the presbyterian doctrine of reprobation had driven some persons to suicide, as in the case of Alderman Hoyle, a member of the house. See Birkenhead's Paul's Church Yard.

³ Assuming that *sanctus* is derived from *sanguis*, blood.—We fanatics of this island only have merited that title by spilling much blood.

⁴ It was formerly a current superstition that when the cock crowed at break of day, spirits and fiends that walked by night were forced to return to their infernal prison.

And try'd with haste to lift him up,
 But found his forlorn hope, his crup,¹ 1560
 Unserviceable with kicks and blows,
 Receiv'd from harden'd-hearted foes.
 He thought to drag him by the heels,
 Like Gresham-carts, with legs for wheels ;²
 But fear, that soonest cures those sores, 1565
 In danger of relapse to worse,
 Came in t' assist him with its aid,
 And up his sinking vessel weigh'd.
 No sooner was he fit to trudge,
 But both made ready to dislodge ; 1570
 The Spirit hors'd him like a sack,
 Upon the vehicle his back,
 And bore him headlong into th' hall,
 With some few rubs against the wall ;
 Where, finding out the postern lock'd, 1575
 And th' avenues as strongly block'd,
 H' attack'd the window, storm'd the glass,
 And in a moment gain'd the pass ;
 Thro' which he dragg'd the worsted soldier's
 Four-quarters out by th' head and shoulders, 1580
 And cautiously began to scout
 To find their fellow-cattle out ;
 Nor was it half a minute's quest,
 Ere he retriev'd the champion's beast,
 Ty'd to a pale, instead of rack, 1585
 But ne'er a saddle on his back,
 Nor pistols at the saddle-bow,
 Convey'd away, the Lord knows how.
 He thought it was no time to stay,
 And let the night too steal away ; 1590

¹ His back is called his forlorn hope, because that was generally exposed to danger, to save the rest of his body, intimating that he always turned his back on his enemies.

² Butler does not forget the Royal Society, who at that time held their meetings at Gresham College in Bishopsgate Street. In 1662, the scheme of a cart with legs instead of wheels was brought before this Society, and referred to the consideration of Mr Hooke. The inventor was Mr Potter. Mr Hooke was ordered to draw up a full description of this cart, which, together with the animadversions upon it, was to be entered in the books of the Society.

But, in a trice, advanc'd the Knight
 Upon the bare ridge, bolt upright,
 And, groping out for Ralpho's jade,
 He found the saddle too was stray'd,
 And in the place a lump of soap, 1595
 On which he speedily leap'd up ;
 And, turning to the gate the rein,
 He kick'd and cudgell'd on amain ;
 While Hudibras, with equal haste,
 On both sides laid about as fast, 1600
 And spurr'd, as jockies use, to break,
 Or padders to secure, a neck :¹
 Where let us leave 'em for a time,
 And to their churches turn our rhyme ·
 To hold forth their declining state, 1605
 Which now come near an even rate.²

¹ Jockies endanger their necks by spurring their horses, and galloping very fast; and highwaymen, called padders, from the Saxon paad, highway, spur their horses to save their necks.

² The time now approached when the Presbyterians and Independents were to fall into equal disgrace, and resemble the doleful condition of the Knight and Squire.



PART III. CANTO II.



ARGUMENT.

The Saints engage in fierce contests
About their carnal interests,
To share their sacrilegious preys
According to their rates of grace ;
Their various frenzies to reform,
When Cromwell left them in a storm ;
Till, in th' effige of Rumps, the rabble
Burn all their grandees of the cabal.

The two last conversations have unfolded the views of the confederate sects, and prepared the way for the business of the subsequent canto. Their differences will there be agitated by characters of higher consequence ; and their mutual reproaches will again enable the poet to expose the knavery and hypoerisy of each. This was the principal intent of the work. The fable was considered by him only as the vehicle of his satire. And perhaps when he published the First Part, he had no more determined what was to follow in the Second, than Tristram Shandy had on a like occasion. The fable itself, the bare outlines of which I conceive to be borrowed, *mutatis mutandis*, from Cervantes, seems here to be brought to a period. The next canto has the form of an episode. The last consists chiefly of two dialogues and two letters. Neither Knight nor Squire has any further adventures. *Nash.*

PART III. CANTO II.¹



HE learned write, an insect breeze
 Is but a mongrel prince of bees,²
 That falls before a storm on cows,
 And stings the founders of his house ;
 From whose corrupted flesh that breed 5
 Of vermin did at first proceed.³

So, ere the storm of war broke out,
 Religion spawn'd a various rout ⁴
 Of petulant capricious sects,
 The maggots of corrupted texts, ⁵

10

¹ This canto being wholly unconnected with the story of Hudibras, would, in Mr Nash's opinion, have been better placed at the end ; indeed this arrangement has been adopted by Mr Towneley in his French translation. Its different character, and its want of connexion with the foregone, may be accounted for, by supposing it written on the spur of the occasion, and with a view to recommend the author to his friends at court, by an attack on the opposite faction, at a time when it was daily gaining ground and the secret views of Charles II. were more and more suspected and dreaded. A short time before the third part of this poem was published, Shaftesbury had ceased to be a minister, and had become a furious demagogue. But the canto describes the spirit of parties not long before the Restoration. One object of satire here is to refute and ridicule the plea of the Presbyterians, after the Restoration, of having been the principal instruments in bringing back the king.

² The classical theory of the generation of bees is here applied to the breeze, or gaddy, which is said by Pliny (Nat. Hist. xi. 16) to be "a bee of larger size which chases the others : " hence it may fairly be styled a prince of bees, yet but a *mongrel* prince, because not truly a bee

³ Assuming that they deposit their larvæ in the flesh of cows.

⁴ Case, in his thanksgiving sermon for the taking of Chester, told the Parliament, that no less than 180 errors and heresies were propagated in the city of London.

⁵ The Independents, and sometimes the Presbyterians, have been charged with altering a text of Scripture, in order to authorize them to appoint their own ministers, substituting *ye* for *we* in Acts vi. 3. "Therefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom *ye* may appoint over this business." Mr Field is said

That first run all religion down,
 And after ev'ry swarm, its own :
 For as the Persian Magi once ¹
 Upon their mothers got their sons,
 That were incapable t' enjoy 15
 That empire any other way ; ²
 So presbyter begot the other ³
 Upon the Good Old Cause, his mother,
 That bore them like the devil's dam, ⁴
 Whose son and husband are the same ; 20
 And yet no nat'ral tie of blood,
 Nor int'rest for their common good,
 Could, when their profits interfer'd,
 Get quarter for each other's beard : ⁵
 For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd, ⁶ 25
 But only by the ears engag'd ;

to have printed *ye* instead of *we* in several editions, and particularly in his beautiful folio edition of 1659, as well as his octavo of 1661 ; and, according to Grey, he was "the first printer of the forgery, and received £1500 for it." But this error had previously occurred in the Bible printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel, 1638. See Lowndes' Bibliographical Manual, by Bohn, page 187.

¹ It was about 521 years before Christ, that they first had the name of Magians, which signifies crop-eared ; it was given them by way of nickname and contempt, because of the impostor (Smerdis) who was then cropt. Prideaux's Connection. Hence, perhaps, might come the proverb, "Who made you a conjurer and did not crop your ears."

² The poet cannot mean the *Persian empire*, which was only in the hands of the Magi for a few months, but the presidency of the Magi. Zoroaster, the first institutor of the sect, allowed of incestuous marriages to preserve the line without intermixture. He maintained the doctrine of a good and bad principle ; the former was worshipped under the emblem of fire, which they kept constantly burning.

³ The Presbyterians first broke down the pale of order and discipline, and so made way for the Independents and every other sect.

⁴ This is not the first time we have heard of the devil's mother. In Wolfii Memorabilia, is a quotation from Erasmus : "If you are the devil, I am his mother." And in the Agamemnon of Æschylus, Cassandra, after loading Clytemnestra with every opprobrious name she can think of, calls her "mother of the devil." Larcher, the editor of the French Hudibras, remarks in a note, that this passage alludes to the description of Sin and Death in the second book of Milton's Paradise Lost.

⁵ When the Presbyterians prevailed, Calamy, being asked what he would do with the Anabaptists, Antinomians, and others, replied, that he would not meddle with their consciences, but only with their bodies and estates.

⁶ That is, never agreed or united, from *gefegen*, Sax. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

Like dogs that snarl about a bone,
 And play together when they 've none;¹
 As by their truest characters,
 Their constant actions, plain^l appears. 30
 Rebellion now began, for lack
 Of zeal and plunder, to grow slack ;
 The Cause and Covenant to lessen,
 And Providence to b' out of season :
 For now there was no more to purchase² 35
 O' th' king's revenue, and the churches',
 But all divided, shar'd, and gone,
 That us'd to urge the brethren on ;
 Which forc'd the stubborn'st for the cause
 To cross the cudgels to the laws,³ 40
 That what by breaking them they'd gain'd,
 By their support might be maintain'd ;
 Like thieves, that in a hemp-plot lie,
 Secur'd against the hue-and-cry.⁴
 For Presbyter and Independent 45
 Were now turn'd plaintiff and defendant ;
 Laid out their apostolic functions
 On carnal orders and Injunctions ;
 And all their precious gifts and graces
 On outlawries and *scire facias* ; 50
 At Michael's term had many a trial,
 Worse than the dragon and St Michael,
 Where thousands fell, in shape of fees,
 Into the bottomless abyss.
 For when, like bretheren and friends, 55
 They came to share their dividends,⁵

¹ Butler here implies that while the Dissenters were struggling for the upper hand and had nothing to lose, they were united, but the moment they succeeded, the dominant party jealously excluded their former allies.

² Although the *Ordinance* which removed obstructions in the sale of the Royal Lands, was passed so early as 1649, it was not till 1659 that Whitehall, Somerset House, and Hampton Court, were ordered to be sold.

³ Cudgels across one another denote a challenge: to cross the cudgels to the laws, is to offer to fight in defence of them.

⁴ Meaning a plantation of hemp, which being a thick cover, a rogue may lie concealed therein. "Thus," says Butler, "he shelters himself under the cover of the law, like a thief in a hemp-plot, and makes that secure him which was intended for his destruction." Remains, vol. ii. p. 384.

⁵ When the estates of the king and Church were ordered to be sold in

And ev'ry partner to possess
 His church and state joint-purchases,
 In which the ablest saint, and best,
 Was nam'd in trust by all the rest, 60
 To pay their money, and instead
 Of ev'ry brother, pass the deed ;
 He strait converted all his gifts
 To pious frauds and holy shifts,
 And settled all the others' shares, 65
 Upon his outward man and 's heirs ;
 Held all they claim'd as Forfeit Lands
 Deliver'd up into his hands,
 And pass'd upon his conscience
 By pre-entail of Providence ; 70
 Impeach'd the rest for reprobates,
 That had no titles to estates,
 But by their spiritual attaints
 Degraded from the right of saints.
 This b'ing reveal'd, they now begun 75
 With law and conscience to fall on,
 And laid about as hot and brain-sick
 As th' utter barrister of Swanswick ;¹
 Engag'd with money-bags, as bold
 As men with sand-bags did of old,² 80

1749, great arrears were due to the army : for the discharge of which some of the lands were allotted, and whole regiments joined together in the manner of a corporation. The distribution afterwards was productive of many law-suits, the person whose name was put in trust often claiming the whole, or a larger share than he was entitled to. See note at page 7.

¹ William Prynne, already mentioned at page 30, was born at Swanswick, in Somersetshire. The poet calls him hot and brain-sick, because he was a restless and turbulent man. He is called the *utter* (or outer) barrister by the court of Star-chamber, in the sentence ordering him to be discarded ; and afterwards he was voted again by the House of Commons to be restored to his place and practice as an *utter* barrister ; which signifies a pleader without the bar, or one who is not king's counsel or serjeant.

² Bishop Warburton says : "When the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen, it was fought with sword and lance ; and when by yeomen, with sand-bags fastened to the end of a truncheon." When tilts and tournaments were in fashion for men of knightly degree, men of low degree amused themselves with running at the Quintain, which was a beam with a wooden board at one end, and a sand-bag at the other, so fixed on a post, that when the board was smartly struck, it swung round

That brought the lawyers in more fees.
 Than all unsanctify'd trustees ;¹
 Till he who had no more to show
 I' th' case, receiv'd the overthrow ;
 Or, both sides having had the worst, 85
 They parted as they met at first.
 Poor Presbyter was now reduc'd,
 Secluded, and cashier'd, and chous'd !²
 Turn'd out, and excommunicate
 From all affairs of church and state, 90
 Reform'd t' a reformado saint,³
 And glad to turn itinerant,⁴
 To stroll and teach from town to town,
 And those he had taught up, teach down,⁵
 And make those Uses serve agen⁶ 95
 Against the New-enlighten'd men,⁷
 As fit as when at first they were
 Reveal'd against the Cavalier ;
 Damn Anabaptist and fanatic,
 As pat as popish and prelatie ; 100

rapidly, and if the striker was not very nimble the sand-bag struck him a heavy blow. Judicial combats between common people were also fought with sand-bags fixed on shafts. See Henry VI., Part II. Act ii., where Horner and Peter are so equipped for their combat.

¹ The lawyers got more fees from the Presbyterians, or saints, who in general were trustees for the sequestered lands, than from all other trustees, who were unsanctified. *Nash*.

² When Oliver Cromwell, with the army and the Independents, had got the upper hand, they retaliated on the Presbyterians by depriving them of all power and authority ; and before the king was brought to trial, the Presbyterian members were "purged" from the House.

³ That is, a voluntary saint without pay or commission.

⁴ Amongst the schemes of the day was the appointment of itinerant preachers, who were to be supported out of the lands of Deans and Chapters. Walker's Hist. of Independency, Part ii. p. 156.

⁵ Poor Presbyter, i. e. the Presbyterians were glad to teach down the Independents, whom as brethren and friends (v. 55) they had indiscriminately taught up ; the unhinging doctrines of the Presbyterians having set up the Independents in direct opposition to themselves. *Nash*.

⁶ The sermons of these times were divided into Doctrine and Use : and in the margin of them is often printed *Use the first, Use the second, &c.*

⁷ The Presbyterians endeavoured to preach down the Independents by the very same doctrines these had used in preaching down the Bishops ; that is, by objecting to Ordination and Church government.

And with as little variation,
 To serve for any sect i' th' nation.
 The Good Old Cause,¹ which some believe
 To be the dev'l that tempted Eve
 With knowledge, and does still invite 105
 The world to mischief with new light,
 Had store of money in her purse,
 When he took her for bett'r or worse,
 But now was grown deform'd and poor,
 And fit to be turn'd out of door. 110

The Independents, whose first station
 Was in the rear of Reformation,
 A mongrel kind of church-dragoons,²
 That serv'd for horse and foot at once,
 And in the saddle of one steed 115
 The Saracen and Christian rid ;³
 Were free of ev'ry spiritual order,
 To preach, and fight, and pray, and murder,⁴
 No sooner got the start, to lurch⁵
 Both disciplines of war and church, 120
 And providence enough to run
 The chief commanders of them down,
 But carry'd on the war against
 The common enemy o' th' saints,
 And in awhile prevail'd so far, 125
 To win of them the game of war,
 And be at liberty once more
 T' attack themselves as they'd before.

¹ This was the designation of the party purpose of those who first got up the Covenant and Protestation.

² Many of the Independent officers, such as Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, &c., used to pray and preach publicly. Cleveland uses the same term, "Kirk dragoons," in his Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter.

³ The Templars were at first so poor that two knights rode on one horse; Butler says the new order of Military Saints did so, but that one rider was a Saracen and the other a saint. Grey says in quoting Walker, that the Independents were a compound of Jew, Christian, and saint.

⁴ *To preach*, has a reference to the Dominicans; to *fight*, to the knights of Malta: to *pray*, to the fathers of Oratory; to *murther*, to the Jesuits. But the Independents assumed to themselves the privilege of every order: they preached, fought, prayed, and murdered.

⁵ That is, to swallow up, see Skinner and Junius. A lurcher is a glut-ton. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary.

For now there was no foe in arms
 T' unite their factions with alarms, 130
 But all reduc'd and overcome,
 Except their worst, themselves at home,
 Who 'd compass'd all they pray'd, and swore,
 And fought, and preach'd, and plunder'd for,
 Subdu'd the nation, church and state, 135
 And all things but their laws and hate;¹
 But when they came to treat and transact,
 And share the spoil of all they 'd ransackt,
 To botch up what they 'd torn and rent,
 Religion and the government, 140
 They met no sooner, but prepar'd
 To pull down all the war had spar'd;
 Agreed in nothing, but t' abolish,
 Subvert, extirpate, and demolish:
 For knaves and fools b'ing near of kin, 145
 As Dutch boors are t' a sooterkin,²
 Both parties join'd to do their best
 To damn the public interest;
 And herded only in consults,³
 To put by one another's bolts; 150
 T' outcant the Babylonian labourers,
 At all their dialects of jabberers,
 And tug at both ends of the saw,
 To tear down government and law.
 For as two cheats, that play one game, 155
 Are both defeated of their aim;⁴
 So those who play a game of state,
 And only cavil in debate,

¹ That is, the laws of the land, and hatred of the people.

² A reflection upon the Dutch women, for their use of portable stoves, which they carry by a string, and on seating themselves generally put it under their petticoats; whence they are humorously said to engender sooterkins with their children. Howel, in his letters, describes them as "likest a bat of any creature," and Cleveland says, "not unlike a rat."

³ That is, both parties were intimately united together.

⁴ For as when two cheats, equally masters of the very same tricks, are by that circumstance mutually defeated of their aim, namely, to impose upon each other, so those well matched tricksters, who play with state affairs, and only cavil at one another's schemes, ever counteract each other.

Altho' there's nothing lost nor won,
The public bus'ness is undone, 160
Which still the longer 'tis in doing,
Becomes the surer way to ruin.

This when the Royalists perceiv'd,¹
Who to their faith as firmly cleav'd,
And own'd the right they had paid down 165
So dearly for, the church and crown,
Th' united constanter, and sided

The more, the more their foes divided :
For tho' outnumber'd, overthrown,
And by the fate of war run down, 170
Their duty never was defeated,
Nor from their oaths and faith retreated ;

For loyalty is still the same,
Whether it win or lose the game ;
True as the dial to the sun, 175
Altho' it be not shin'd upon.²

But when these bretheren³ in evil,
Their adversaries, and the devil,
Began once more to show them play,
And hopes, at least, to have a day, 180
They rally'd in parade of woods,
And unfrequented solitudes ;

Convøn'd at midnight in outhouses,
T' appoint new-rising rendezvouses,
And, with a pertinacy unmatch'd 185
For new recruits⁴ of danger watch'd.

No sooner was one blow diverted,
But up another party started,
And as if Nature too, in haste
To furnish out supplies as fast, 190

¹ This encomium on the Royalists, their prudence, and suffering fidelity has been generally admired.

² As the dial is invariable, and always true to the sun whenever its rays emerge, however its lustre may be sometimes obscured by passing clouds so true loyalty is always ready to serve its king and country, though often under the pressure of affliction and distress.

³ The poet, to serve his metre, sometimes lengthens and sometimes contracts his words, thus bretheren, lightening, oppugne, sareasmous, affairs, bungleing, sprinkleing, benigne.

⁴ Recruits, that is, Irish volunteers ready to serve the king's cause.

Before her time had turn'd destruction
 T' a new and numerous production ;¹
 No sooner those were overcome,
 But up rose others in their room,
 That, like the Christian faith, increas'd 195
 The more, the more they were suppress'd :
 Whom neither chains, nor transportation,
 Proscription, sale, nor confiscation,
 Nor all the desperate events
 Of former tried experiments, 200
 Nor wounds, could terrify, nor mangling,
 To leave off loyalty and dangling,
 Nor death, with all his bones, affright
 From vent'ring to maintain the right,
 From staking life and fortune down 205
 'Gainst all together,² for the crown :
 But kept the title of their cause
 From forfeiture, like claims in laws ;
 And prov'd no prosp'rous usurpation
 Can ever settle on the nation ; 210
 Until, in spite of force and treason,
 They put their loy'lty in possession ;
 And, by their constancy and faith,
 Destroy'd the mighty men of Gath.
 Toss'd in a furious hurricane, 215
 Did Oliver give up his reign,³

¹ The succession of Loyalists was so quick, that they seemed to be perishing, and others supplying their places, before the periods usual in nature ; all which is expressed by an allusion to equivocal generation.

² That is, all of them together, namely, the several factions, their adversaries, and the devil. See v. 178.

³ The Monday before the death of Oliver, August 30th, 1658, was the most windy day that had happened for twenty years. Dennis Bond, a member of the Long Parliament, and one of the king's judges, died on this day ; wherefore, when Oliver likewise went away in a storm the Friday following, it was said, the devil came in the first wind to fetch him, but finding him not quite ready, took Bond for his appearance. Dryden, Waller, and other poets have verses on the subject :

In storms as loud as his immortal fame ;
 and Godolphin :

In storms as loud as was his crying sin.

And was believ'd, as well by saints
 As moral men and miscreants,¹
 To founder in the Stygian ferry,
 Until he was retriev'd by Sterry,² 220
 Who, in a false erroneous dream,³
 Mistook the New Jerusalem,
 Profanely, for th' apocryphal
 False heav'n at the end o' th' hall ;
 Whither it was decreed by fate 225
 His precious reliques to translate.
 So Romulus was seen before
 B' as orthodox a senator,⁴
 From whose divine illumination
 He stole the pagan revelation. 230
 Next him his son, and heir apparent
 Succeeded, tho' a lame vicegerent ;⁵
 Who first laid by the Parliament,
 The only crutch on which he leant,

¹ Some editions read *mortal*, but not with so much meaning or wit. The Independents called themselves the saints: the Cavaliers and the Church of England were distinguished into two sorts; the immoral and wicked they called miscreants; those that were of sober and of good conversation, they called moral men; yet, because these last did not maintain the doctrine of absolute predestination and justification by faith only, but insisted upon the necessity of good works, they accounted them no better than moral heathens. By this opposition in terms between *moral men* and *saints*, the poet seems to insinuate, that the pretended saints were not men of morals.

² The king's party of course maintained that Oliver Cromwell was gone to the devil; but Sterry, one of Oliver's chaplains, assured the world of his ascent into heaven, and that he would be of more use to them there than he had been in his life-time.

³ Sterry dreamed that Oliver was to be placed in heaven, which he foolishly imagined to be the true and real heaven above; but it happened to be the false carnal heaven at the end of Westminster Hall, where his head was fixed after the Restoration. There were, at that time, three taverns abutting on Westminster Hall, one called Heaven, another Hell, and the third Purgatory, near to the former of which Oliver's head was fixed.

⁴ "Romulus, the first Roman king, being suddenly missed, and the people in trouble for the loss of him, Julius Proculus made a speech, wherein he told them that he saw Romulus that morning come down from heaven; that he gave him certain things in charge to tell them, and then he saw him mount up to heaven again." Livy's Roman Hist. vol. i. b. i.

⁵ Richard Cromwell, the eldest son of Oliver, succeeded him in the protectorship; but had neither capacity nor courage sufficient for his position.

And then sunk underneath the state, 235
 That rode him above horseman's weight.¹
 And now the saints began their reign,
 For which they 'd yearn'd so long in vain,²
 And felt such bowel-hankerings,
 To see an empire, all of kings,³ 240
 Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe
 Of justice, government, and law,⁴
 And free t' erect what spiritual cantons
 Should be reveal'd, or gospel Hans-Towns.⁵
 To edify upon the ruins 245
 Of John of Leyden's old out-goings,⁶
 Who for a weather-cock hung up
 Upon their mother-church's top,
 Was made a type, by Providence,
 Of all their revelations since, 250
 And now fulfill'd by his successors,
 Who equally mistook their measures ;
 For when they came to shape the Model,
 Not one could fit another's noddle ;
 But found their Light and Gifts more wide 255
 From fadging, than th' unsanctify'd,
 While ev'ry individual brother
 Strove hand to fist against another,

¹ See Part i. Canto i. l. 925, where he rides the state ; but here the state rides him.

² A sneer at the Committee of Safety. See Clarendon, vol. iii. b. xvi. p. 544, and Baxter's Life, p. 74.

³ They founded their hopes on Revelation i. 6, and v. 10.

⁴ Some sectaries thought that all law proceedings should be abolished, all law books burnt, and that the law of the Lord Jesus should be received alone.

⁵ Alluding to the republics of Switzerland, and the German Hans-Towns, Hamburgh, Altona, &c.

⁶ John of Leyden, a tailor, who proclaimed himself a prophet and king of the universe, was the ringleader of the Anabaptists of Munster, where they proclaimed a community both of goods and women. This New Jerusalem, as they had named it, was retaken, after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign, Count Waldeck ; and John of Leyden and two of his associates (Knipperdollinck and Krechting) were enclosed in iron cages and carried throughout Germany for six months, after which they were suspended in an iron cage, and starved to death, on the highest tower of the city. This happened about the year 1536. See Menzel's History of Germany, vol. ii. p. 256.

And still the maddest, and most crackt,
Were found the busiest to transact ; 260

For tho' most hands dispatch apace,
And make light work, the proverb says,
Yet many different intellects
Are found t' have contrary effects ;
And many heads t' obstruct intrigues, 265
As slowest insects have most legs.

Some were for setting up a king,
But all the rest for no such thing,
Unless King Jesus :¹ others tamper'd
For Fleetwood, Desborough, and Lambert ;² 270
Some for the Rump, and some more crafty,
For Agitators, and the Safety ;³
Some for the Gospel, and massacres
Of spiritual affidavit-makers,⁴

¹ "The Fifth Monarchy Men," as Bishop Burnet says, "seemed daily to expect the appearance of Christ." Carew, one of the king's judges, would not plead to his indictment when brought to trial, till he had entered a salvo for the jurisdiction of Jesus Christ: "saving to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms."

² Fleetwood was son-in-law to Cromwell, having married Ireton's widow. He was made lord deputy of Ireland, and lieutenant-general of the army. Desborough married one of Cromwell's sisters, and became a colonel, and general at sea. Lambert was the person who, according to Ludlow, was always kept in expectation by Cromwell of succeeding him, and was indeed the best qualified for it.

³ In May, 1659, the Council of Officers, with Fleetwood as their president, resolved upon restoring the Long Parliament, which having, by deaths, exclusions, and expulsions, been reduced to a small remnant, was called the Rump. In 1647, when the Parliament began to talk of disbanding the army, a military council was set up, consisting of the chief officers and deputies from the inferior officers and common soldiers, to consult on the interests of the army. These were called Adjutators, and the chief management of affairs seemed to be for some time in their hands. The Committee of Safety, consisting of the officers of the army and some of the members of the Rump Parliament, was formed in 1659, to provide for the safety of the kingdom.

⁴ Some were for abolishing all laws but what were expressed in the words of the Gospel; for destroying all magistracy and government, and for extirpating those who should endeavour to uphold it; and of these Whitelock alleges that he acted as a member of the Committee of Safety, because so many were for abolishing all order that the nation was like to run into the utmost confusion. The Adjutators wished to destroy all records, and the courts of justice.

That swore to any human regence 275
 Oaths of suprem'cy and allegiance ;
 Yea, tho' the ablest swearing saint,
 That vouch'd the Bulls o' th' Covenant :
 Others for pulling down th' high places
 Of Synods and Provincial classes,¹ 280
 That us'd to make such hostile inroads
 Upon the saints, like bloody Nimrods :
 Some for fulfilling prophecies,²
 And th' extirpation of th' excise ;
 And some against th' Egyptian bondage 285
 Of holidays, and paying poundage :³
 Some for the cutting down of groves,⁴
 And rectifying bakers' loaves ;
 And some for finding out expedients
 Against the slav'ry of obedience : 290
 Some were for Gospel-ministers,
 And some for Red-coat seculars,⁵
 As men most fit t' hold forth the word,
 And wield the one and th' other sword :⁶
 Some were for carrying on the work 295
 Against the Pope, and some the Turk :
 Some for engaging to suppress
 The camisad' of surplices,⁷

¹ They wished to see an end of the Presbyterian hierarchy.

² That is, perhaps, for taking arms against the Pope, or Spain, as the headquarters of Popery.

³ The festivals or holy days of the Church had been abolished in 1647. The taxes imposed by the Parliament were numerous and heavy : poundage was a rate levied, according to assessment, on all personal property.

⁴ That is, for destroying the churches, which they regarded as built originally for purposes of idolatry and superstition. It is well known that groves were anciently made use of as places of worship. The rows of clustered pillars in our Gothic cathedrals, branching out and meeting at top in long drawn arches, are supposed to have been suggested by the venerable groves of our ancestors.

⁵ Some petitioned for the continuance and maintenance of the regular clergy ministry ; and others thought that laymen, and even soldiers, who were nicknamed " Church dragoons," might preach the word, as some of them did, particularly Cromwell and Ireton.

⁶ " The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Ephesians vi. 17.

⁷ Some sectaries had a violent aversion to the surplice, which they called a rag of Popery. *Camisado* is an expedition by night, in which the soldiers sometimes wear their shirts, called a *camisade* (from the Greek *καμισιον*,

That Gifts and Dispensations hinder'd,
 And turn'd to th' outward man the inward ;¹ 300
 More proper for the cloudy night
 Of Popery than gospel-light :
 Others were for abolishing
 That tool of matrimony, a ring,²
 With which th' unsanctify'd bridegroom 305
 Is marry'd only to a thumb,³
 As wise as ringing of a pig,
 That us'd to break up ground, and dig ;
 The bride to nothing but her " will,"⁴
 That nulls the after-marriage still : 310

Latin *camisia*, a surplice), over their clothes, that they may be distinguished by their comrades.

¹ Transferred the purity which should remain in the heart to the vestment on the back.

² Persons contracting matrimony were to publish their intentions in the next town, on three market days, and afterwards the contract was to be certified by a justice of the peace: no ring was used, as in the new Marriage Law.

³ The word *thumb* is used for the sake of rhyme, the ring being put by the bridegroom upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand: and something more may be meant than meets the ear, as the following extract from No. 614 of the Spectator seems to intimate: "Before I speak of widows, I cannot but observe one thing, which I do not know how to account for; a widow is always more sought after than an old maid of the same age. It is common enough among ordinary people for a stale virgin to set up a shop in a place where she is not known; where the *large thumb ring*, supposed to be given her by her husband, quickly recommends her to some wealthy neighbour, who takes a liking to the jolly widow that would have overlooked the venerable spinster." Falstaff says:

"I could have crept into any alderman's *thumb ring*."

I. Henry IV., Act ii. sc. 4.

⁴ Mr Warburton thinks this an equivoque, alluding to the response which the bride makes in the marriage ceremony—"I will." But the poet may imply that a woman binds herself to nothing but her own will, for he elsewhere says:

The souls of women are so small,
 That some believe th' have none at all;
 Or, if they have, like cripples, still,
 They've but one faculty, the will.

Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 246.

Some were for th' utter extirpation
 Of linsey-woolsey in the nation ;¹
 And some against all idolizing
 The cross in shop-books, or baptizing ;² 315
 Others to make all things recant
 The Christian or surname of Saint,³
 And force all churches, streets, and towns,
 The holy title to renounce ;
 Some 'gainst a third estate of souls,
 And bringing down the price of coals ;⁴ 320
 Some for abolishing black-pudding,
 And eating nothing with the blood in,⁵
 To abrogate them roots and branches ;⁶
 While others were for eating haunches
 Of warriors, and now and then, 325
 The flesh of kings and mighty men ;

¹ Were for Judaizing. The Jewish law forbids the use of a garment made of linen and woollen. Lev. xix. 19.

² The Presbyterians thought it superstitious and Popish to use the sign of the cross in baptism ; Butler satirizes that notion by representing them as regarding it idolatrous for tradesmen to make a cross in their books, as a sign of payment.

³ Streets, parishes, churches, public foundations, and even the apostles themselves, were unsainted for some years preceding the Restoration, so that St Paul's was necessarily called Paul's, St Ann's, Ann's, &c. See the Spectator, No. 125.

⁴ The first line may allude to the doctrine of the intermediate state, in which some supposed the soul to continue from the time of its leaving the body to the resurrection ; or else it may allude to the Popish doctrine of purgatory. The former subject was warmly discussed about this time. The exorbitant price of coals was then loudly complained of. Sir Arthur Hazelrigg laid a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon Newcastle coals, when he was governor there. Many petitions were presented against the tax ; and various schemes proposed for reducing the price of them. Shakspeare says :

A pair of tribunes that have sack'd fair Rome
 To make coals cheap. Coriolanus, Act v. sc. 1.

⁵ The Judaizing sect, who were for introducing Jewish customs.

⁶ Clarendon mentions a set of levellers, who were called *root and branch men*, in opposition to others who were of more moderate principles. *To abrogate*, that is, that they might utterly abrogate or renounce everything that had blood, while others were for eating haunches, alluding to Revelation xix. 18, "That ye might eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of

And some for breaking of their bones
 With rods of iron,¹ by Secret ones ;²
 For thrashing mountains,³ and with spells
 For hallowing carriers' packs and bells ;⁴ 330
 Things that the legend never heard of,
 But made the wicked sore afeard of.⁵

The quacks of government,⁶ who sate
 At th' unregarded helm of state,
 And understood this wild confusion 335
 Of fatal madness and delusion,
 Must, sooner than a prodigy,
 Portend destruction to be nigh,

Consider'd timely how t' withdraw,
 And save their wind-pipes from the law ; 340
 For one rencounter at the bar
 Was worse than all they'd 'scap'd in war ;
 And therefore met in consultation

To cant and quack upon the nation ;
 Not for the sickly patient's sake, 345
 Nor what to give, but what to take ;
 To feel the pulses of their fees,
 More wise than fumbling arteries ;

Prolong the snuff of life in pain,
 And from the grave recover—gain. 350

captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great."

¹ Ridiculing the practice, so common in those days, of expressing every sentiment in terms of Scripture. He alludes perhaps to Psalm ii. 9, Isaiah xli. 15, and Revelation xix. 15.

² The 83rd Psalm and 3rd verse is thus translated in their favourite Genevan text: "And taken counsel against thy secret ones." See this expression used v. 681, 697, and 706 of this canto.

³ A sneer at the cant of the Fifth Monarchy Men, for their misapplication of the text Isaiah xli. 15.

⁴ Zachariah xiv. 20.

⁵ Things which the Scriptures never intended, but which the wicked, that is, the warriors, kings, and mighty men, were afraid of.

⁶ These were Hollis, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Grimstone, Annesley, Manchester, Roberts, and others ; who perceiving that Richard Cromwell was unable to conduct the government, and that the various schemers, who daily started up, would divide the party, and facilitate the restoration of the royal family, thought it prudent to take care of themselves, and secure their own interests with as much haste as possible.

'Mong these there was a politician,
 With more heads than a beast in vision,¹
 And more intrigues in every one
 Than all the whores of Babylon ;
 So politic, as if one eye 355
 Upon the other were a spy,²
 That to trepan the one to think
 The other blind, both strove to blink ;
 And in his dark pragmatic way,
 As busy as a child at play. 360
 He 'ad seen three governments run down,³
 And had a hand in ev'ry one ;
 Was for 'em, and against 'em all,⁴
 But barb'rous when they came to fall :
 For by trepanning th' old to ruin, 365
 He made his int'rest with the new one ;
 Play'd true and faithful, tho' against
 His conscience, and was still advanc'd :

¹ Alluding to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, mentioned in the last note. From an absurd defamation that he had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland, he was by many called *Tapsky*, and by others, on account of his general conduct, he was nicknamed *Shiftesbury*. But whatever the shafts levelled at him by the wits of the time, it must never be forgotten that he carried the *Habeas Corpus* Act through Parliament.

² Lord Shaftesbury had weak eyes, and squinted.

³ Those of the King, the Parliament, and the Protector. First he was high sheriff of Dorsetshire, governor of Weymouth, and raised some forces for the king's service. Next he joined the Parliament, took the Covenant, and was made colonel of a regiment of horse. Afterwards he was a very busy person in setting up Cromwell to be lord protector; and then again was quite as active in deposing Richard, and restoring the Rump. Bishop Burnet says of him, that he was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made, and valued himself upon effecting them at the properest season, and in the best manner. But the most powerful picture of him is that drawn by Dryden, in his *Absalom* and *Achitophel*.

For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
 Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit ;
 Restless, unfix'd in principles and place,
 In power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace ;
 In friendship false, implacable in hate,
 Resolv'd to ruin or to rule the state.

⁴ Grey says, "for the shameless duplicity of Shaftesbury, see the interesting memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, by his widow."

For by the witchcraft of rebellion
 Transform'd t' a feeble state-camelion,¹ 370
 By giving aim from side to side,
 He never fail'd to save his tide,
 But got the start of ev'ry state,
 And at a change, ne'er came too late ;
 Could turn his word, and oath, and faith, 375
 As many ways as in a lathe ;
 By turning, wriggle, like a screw,
 Int' highest trust, and out, for new :
 For when he'd happily incurr'd,
 Instead of hemp, to be preferr'd, 380
 And pass'd upon a government,²
 He play'd his trick, and out he went ;
 But being out, and out of hopes
 To mount his ladder, more, of ropes,³
 Would strive to raise himself upon 385
 The public ruin, and his own ;
 So little did he understand
 The desp'rate feats he took in hand,
 For when he 'ad got himself a name
 For frauds and tricks he spoil'd his game ; 390
 Had forc'd his neck into a noose,
 To show his play at fast and loose ;⁴
 And, when he chanc'd t' escape, mistook,
 For art and subtlety, his luck.
 So right his judgment was cut fit, 395
 And made a tally to his wit,
 And both together most profound
 At deeds of darkness under-ground ;

¹ The camelion is said to assume the colour of the nearest object.

² That is, passed himself upon the government.

³ It was in clandestine designs, such as house-breaking and the like, that rope-ladders were chiefly used in our poet's time.

⁴ *Fast and loose*, called also *Pricking at the belt, or girdle, or garter*, a cheating game still in vogue among gypsies and trampers at fairs. A leathern belt or garter is coiled up in intricate folds, but with all the appearance of having an ordinary centre, and then placed upon a table. The object of the player is to prick the centre fold with a skewer, so as to hold fast the belt, but the trickster takes hold of the ends, which are double, and draws the whole away. The game is now commonly played with a piece of list, and called *Pricking at the garter*. Shakspeare alludes to it in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act iv. sc. 10, and in *Love's Labour Lost*, Act iii. sc. 1.

As th' earth is easiest undermin'd,
 By vermin impotent and blind.¹ 400
 By all these arts, and many more,
 He'd practis'd long and much before,
 Our state-artificer foresaw
 Which way the world began to draw :
 For as old sinners have all points 405
 O' th' compass in their bones and joints,
 Can by their pangs and aches find
 All turns and changes of the wind,
 And better than by Napier's bones,²
 Feel in their own the age of moons ; 410
 So guilty sinners, in a state,
 Can by their crimes prognosticate,
 And in their consciences feel pain
 Some days before a show'r of rain :
 He therefore wisely cast about 415
 All ways he could t' ensure his throat,
 And hither came, t' observe and smoke
 What courses other riskers took,
 And to the utmost do his best
 To save himself, and hang the rest. 420
 To match this saint there was another,
 As busy and perverse a brother,³

¹ The poet probably means earthworms, which are still more impotent and blind than moles.

² See "Napier's bones" explained at page 257.

³ It is supposed that this character is intended for Colonel John Lilburn, whose repugnance to all, especially regal, authority, manifested itself in whatever shape it appeared, whether Monarchy or Protectorate. He had been severely censured in the Star-chamber for dispersing seditious pamphlets, and on that account was afterwards rewarded by the Parliament, and preferred by Cromwell. But when Cromwell was made Protector, Lilburn forsook him, and afterwards writing and speaking vehemently was arraigned of treason. He was an uncompromising leveller, and strong opponent of all that was uppermost ; a man of such an inveterate spirit of contradiction, that it was commonly said of him, if the world were emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John ; which part of his character gave occasion to the following lines at his death :

Is John departed, and is Lilburn gone ?
 Farewell to both, to Lilburn and to John.
 Yet being dead, take this advice from me,
 Let them not both in one grave buried be ;
 Lay John here, and Lilburn thereabout,
 For if they both should meet they would fall out.

An haberdasher of small wares¹
 In politics and state affairs ;
 More Jew than Rabb' Achithophel,² 425
 And better gifted to rebel ;
 For when h' had taught his tribe to 'spouse
 The Cause, aloft upon one house,
 He scorn'd to set his own in order,
 But try'd another, and went further ; 430
 So sullenly addicted still
 To 's only principle, his will,
 That whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,
 No force of argument could move,
 Nor law, nor cavalcade of Ho'born,³ 435
 Could render half a grain less stubborn ;
 For he at any time would hang,
 For th' opportunity t' harangue ;
 And rather on a gibbet dangle,
 Than miss his dear delight, to wrangle ; 440
 In which his parts were so accomplish'd,
 That, right or wrong, he ne'er was non-plust :
 But still his tongue ran on, the less
 Of weight it bore, with greater ease ;
 And, with its everlasting clack, 445
 Set all men's ears upon the rack :
 No sooner could a hint appear,
 But up he started to picquer,⁴
 And made the stoutest yield to mercy,
 When he engag'd in controversy ; 450
 Not by the force of carnal reason,
 But indefatigable teasing ;
 With vollies of eternal babble,
 And clamour, more unanswerable :

¹ Lilburn had been bred a tradesman : Clarendon says a bookbinder, but Wood makes him a packer.

² Achithophel was one of David's counsellors who joined the rebellious Absalom, and assisted him with very artful advice ; but hanged himself when it was not implicitly followed. 2 Samuel xvii. 23.

³ When criminals were executed at Tyburn, they were generally conveyed in carts, by the sheriff and his attendants on horseback, from Newgate, along Holborn, and Oxford-street.

⁴ A military term, which signifies to skirmish.

For tho' his topics, frail and weak, 455
 Cou'd ne'er amount above a freak,
 He still maintain'd 'em like his faults,
 Against the desp'ratest assaults ;
 And back'd their feeble want of sense,
 With greater heat and confidence : ¹ 460
 As bones of Hector's, when they differ,
 The more they 're cudgell'd, grow the stiffer.²
 Yet when his profit moderated,³
 The fury of his heat abated ;
 For nothing but his interest 465
 Could lay his devil of contest :
 It was his choice, or chance, or curse,
 T' espouse the Cause for better or worse,
 And with his worldly goods and wit,
 And soul and body, worshipp'd it : ⁴ 470
 But when he found the sullen trapes
 Possess'd with th' devil, worms, and claps ;
 The Trojan mare, in foal with Greeks,⁵
 Not half so full of jadish tricks,
 Tho' squeamish in her outward woman, 475
 As loose and rampant as Doll Common ;⁶
 He still resolv'd to mend the matter,
 T' adhere and cleave the obstinater ;
 And still the skittisher and looser
 Her freaks appeared, to sit the closer ; 480
 For fools are stubborn in their way,
 As coins are harden'd by th' allay :⁷

¹ When Lilburn was arraigned for treason against Cromwell, he pleaded at his trial that no treason could be committed against such a government, and what he had done was in defence of the liberties of his country.

² A pun upon the word stiffer.

³ That is, swayed and governed him.

⁴ Alluding to the words in the office of matrimony: "With my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow."

⁵ Alluding to the stratagem of the Wooden Horse at the siege of Troy. See *Virgil's Æneid*, Book II.

⁶ A prostitute in Ben Jonson's play of *The Alchymist*.

⁷ *Allay* and *alloy* were in Butler's time used indifferently, although now employed in an opposite sense. The more copper a silver coin contains, the harder it is; gold coins contain two parts, in every twenty-four, of alloy.

And obstinacy's ne'er so stiff,
 As when 'tis in a wrong belief,¹
 These two, with others, being met,² 485
 And close in consultation set,
 After a discontented pause,
 And not without sufficient cause,
 The orator we mention'd late,
 Less troubled with the pangs of state, 490
 Than with his own impatience,
 To give himself first audience,
 After he had awhile look'd wise,
 At last broke silence, and the ice.
 Quoth he, There's nothing makes me doubt 495
 Our last Outgoings³ brought about,
 More than to see the characters
 Of real Jealousies and Fears
 Not feign'd, as once, but sadly horrid,⁴
 Scor'd upon ev'ry member's forehead; 500
 Who, 'cause the clouds are drawn together,
 And threaten sudden change of weather,
 Feels pangs and aches of state-turns,
 And revolutions in their corns; .

¹ The same sentiment is differently expressed in the *Remains*, vol. i. page 181 :

For as implicit faith is far more stiff,
 Than that which understands its own belief;
 So those that think, and do but think they know,
 Are far more obstinate than those that do :
 And more averse, than if they'd ne'er been taught
 A wrong way, to a right one to be brought.

² A cabal met at Whitehall, at the same time that General Monk dined with the city of London.

³ Outgoings and workings-out are among the cant terms used by Sectaries, referred to in a note at page 3. "The Noneonformist" (says Butler, in his *Remains*) "does not care to have anything founded on right, but left at large to the dispensation and *outgoings* of Providence."

⁴ Not feigned and pretended as formerly, in the beginning of the Parliament, when they stirred up the people against the king, by forging letters, suborning witnesses, and making an outcry of strange plots being carried on, and horrible dangers being at hand. For instance, the people were incensed by reports that the Papists were about to fire their houses, and cut their throats while they were at church; that troops of soldiers were kept under-ground to do execution upon them; and even that the Thames was to be blown up with gunpowder. Bates's *Elench. Motuum*.

And, since our workings-out are crost, 505
 Throw up the Cause before 'tis lost.
 Was it to run away we meant,
 Who, taking of the Covenant,
 The lamest cripples of the brothers
 Took oaths to run before all others,¹ 510
 But in their own sense, only swore,
 To strive to run away before,
 And now would prove, that words and oath
 Engage us to renounce them both ?
 'Tis true the Cause is in the lurch, 515
 Between a right and mongrel-church ;
 The Presbyter and Independent,
 That stickle which shall make an end on't,
 As 'twas made out to us the last
 Expedient,—I mean Marg'ret's fast ;² 520
 When Providence had been suborn'd,
 What answer was to be return'd :³
 Else why should tumults fright us now,
 We have so many times gone thro',
 And understand as well to tame 525
 As, when they serve our turns, t' inflame ?

¹ These were the words used in the Solemn League and Covenant: "our true and unfeigned purpose is, each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation."

² The lectures and exercises delivered on days of public devotion were called *expedients*. Besides twenty-five days of solemn fasting and humiliation on extraordinary occasions, there was a fast kept every month for about eight years together. The Commons attended divine service in St Margaret's church, Westminster. The reader will observe that the orator does not say *Saint Margaret's*, but *Margaret's* fast. Some of the sectaries, instead of Saint Peter or Saint Paul, would, in derision, say Sir Peter and Sir Paul. See note at page 54. The Parliament petitioned the king for fasts, while he had power; and the appointing them afterwards themselves, was an *expedient* they made use of to alarm and deceive the people, who, upon such an occasion, could not but conclude there was some more than ordinary impending danger, or some important business carrying on.

³ These sectaries pretended a great familiarity with Heaven; and when any villany was to be transacted, they would seem in their prayers to propose their doubts and scruples to God Almighty, and after having debated the matter some time with him, they would turn their discourse, and bring forth an answer suitable to their designs, which the people were to look upon as suggested from heaven. See note at page 66.

Have prov'd how inconsiderable
 Are all Engagements of the rabble,
 Whose frenzies must be reconcil'd
 With drums and rattles, like a child, 530
 But never prov'd so prosperous
 As when they were led on by us ;
 For all our scouring of religion
 Began with tumults and sedition ;
 When hurricanes of fierce commotion 535
 Became strong motives to devotion,
 As carnal seamen, in a storm,
 Turn pious converts, and reform ;
 When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges,
 Maintain'd our feeble privileges, 540
 And brown-bills levy'd in the city,¹
 Made bills to pass the Grand Committee ;
 When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves,²
 Gave chase to rochets and white sleeves,³
 And made the church, and state, and laws, 545
 Submit t' old iron, and the Cause.

¹ Apprentices armed with occasional weapons. Ainsworth, in his Dictionary, translates *sparum*, a brown-bill. Bishop Warburton says, to fight with rusty or poisoned weapons (see Shakspeare's Hamlet) was against the law of arms. So when the citizens used the former, they chalked the edges. Samuel Johnson, in the octavo edition of his Dictionary, says, "*brown-bill* was the ancient weapon of the English foot," so called, perhaps, because sanguined to prevent the rust. The common epithet for a sword, or other offensive weapon, in the old metrical romances, is brown : as brown brand, or brown sword, brown-bill, &c. Shakspeare says :

So with a band of bowmen and of pikes,
 Brown-bills and targetceers 400 strong,
 I come. Edward II. Act ii.

In the ballad of Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, printed in Percy's Reliques, line 1508, we have

With new chalk'd bills and rusty arms.

Butler, in his MS. Common-place book, says, "the confident man's wit is like a watchman's bill with a chalked edge, that pretends to sharpness, only to conceal its dull bluntness from the public view."

² Zealots armed with old clubs and *gleaves*, or swords.

³ Rochets and white sleeves are used figuratively for the bishops, who were the objects of many violent popular demonstrations, and often assaulted by armed mobs in the beginning of the troubles.

And as we thriv'd by tumults then,
 So might we better now agen,
 If we knew how, as then we did,
 To use them rightly in our need : 550
 Tumults, by which the mutinous
 Betray themselves instead of us ;
 The hollow-hearted, disaffected,
 And close malignant are detected ;
 Who lay their lives and fortunes down, 555
 For pledges to secure our own ;
 And freely sacrifice their ears
 T' appease our jealousies and fears.
 And yet for all these providences
 W' are offer'd, if we had our senses, 560
 We idly sit, like stupid blockheads,
 Our hands committed to our pockets,
 And nothing but our tongues at large,
 To get the wretches a discharge :
 Like men condemn'd to thunder-bolts, 565
 Who, ere the blow, become mere dolts ;¹
 Or fools besotted with their crimes,
 That know not how to shift betimes,
 And neither have the hearts to stay,
 Nor wit enough to run away : 570
 Who, if we could resolve on either,
 Might stand or fall at least together ;
 No mean nor trivial solaces
 To partners in extreme distress,
 Who use to lessen their despairs, 575
 By parting them int' equal shares ;
 As if the more they were to bear,²
 They felt the weight the easier ;
 And ev'ry one the gentler hung,
 The more he took his turn among. 580
 But 'tis not come to that, as yet,
 If we had courage left, or wit ;

¹ Some of the ancients were of opinion that thunder stupified before it killed, and there is a well-known proverb to this effect. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat* : He whom God would ruin he first deprives of his senses. See Ammian. Marcellin., and Pliny's Natural History, II. 54.

² Some editions read, the more *there* were to bear.

Who, when our fate can be no worse,
 Are fitted for the bravest course ;
 Have time to rally, and prepare 585
 Our last and best defence, despair :
 Despair, by which the gallant'st feats
 Have been achiev'd in greatest straits,
 And horrid'st dangers safely wav'd,
 By b'ing courageously outbrav'd ; 590
 As wounds by wider wounds are heal'd,
 And poisons by themselves expell'd :¹
 And so they might be now agen,
 If we were, what we should be, men ;
 And not so dully desperate, 595
 To side against ourselves with fate :
 As criminals, condemn'd to suffer,
 Are blinded first, and then turn'd over.
 This comes of breaking covenants,
 And setting up exempts of saints,² 600
 That fine, like aldermen, for grace,
 To be excus'd the efficace :³
 For sp'ritual men are too transcendent,
 That mount their banks for independent,⁴
 To hang, like Mah'met, in the air,⁵ 605
 Or St Ignatius, at his prayer,⁶

¹ Sneering at Sir Kenelm Digby, and others, who asserted that the sting of a scorpion was curable by its own oil. See v. 1029 of this canto.

² Dispensing, in particular instances, with the covenant and obligations. In the early editions, exempts is printed *exauns*, according to the old French pronounciation.

³ Persons who are nominated to an office, and pay the accustomed fine, are considered to have performed the service. Thus, some of the sectaries, if they paid handsomely, were deemed saints, and full of grace, though, from the tenor of their lives, they merited no such distinction ; compounding for their want of real grace, that they might be excused the drudgery of good works ; for spiritual men are too transeendent to grovel in good works, namely, those spiritual men that mount their banks for independent. *Efficace* signifies actual performance.

⁴ *Etre sur les bancs* is to hold a dispute, to assert a claim, to contest a right or an honour ; to be a competitor.

⁵ They need no such support as the body of Mahomet ; which legends averred was suspended in the air, by being plac'd in a steel coffin, between two magnets of equal power.

⁶ Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. An old soldier : at the siege of Pampeluna by the French he had both his legs wounded, the left

By pure geometry, and hate
 Dependence upon church or state ;
 Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter,¹
 And since obedience is better, 610
 The Scripture says, than sacrifice,
 Presume the less on't will suffice ;
 And scorn to have the moderat'st stints
 Prescrib'd their peremptory hints,
 Or any opinion, true or false, 615
 Declar'd as such, in doctrinals ;
 But left at large to make their best on,
 Without b'ing call'd t' account or quest'on :
 Interpret all the spleen reveals,
 As Whittington explain'd the bells ;² 620
 And bid themselves turn back agen
 Lord May'rs of New Jerusalem ;
 But look so big and overgrown,
 They scorn their edifiers t' own,
 Who taught them all their sprinkling lessons, 625
 Their tones, and sanctify'd expressions ;
 Bestow'd their gifts upon a saint,
 Like charity, on those that want ;
 And learn'd th' apocryphal bigots
 T' inspire themselves with shorthand notes,³ 630
 For which they scorn and hate them worse
 Than dogs and cats do sow-gelders :

by a stone, the right broken by a bullet. His fervours in devotion were so strong that, according to the legend, they sometimes raised him two cubits from the ground, and sustained him for a considerable time together.

¹ That is, they did not suffer their consciences to be controlled by the letter of Scripture, but rather interpreted Scripture by their consciences.

² Every one knows the legend of Dick Whittington, who, having run away from his master as far as Highgate, heard the bells of Bow ringing

Turn again Whittington
 Thrice Mayor of London.

An augury which he obeyed, and in time realized, being Lord Mayor in the years 1397, 1406, and 1419 ; he also amassed a fortune of £350,000. See Tatler, No. 78.

³ *Learn'd*, that is, taught, in which sense it is used by the old poets. *Apocryphal bigots*, not genuine ones, some suppose to be a kind of second-rate Independent divines, that availed themselves of the genuine bigot's or Presbyterian minister's discourse, by taking down the heads of it in shorthand, and then retailing it at private meetings. The accent is laid upon the last syllable of *bigot*.

For who first bred them up to pray,
 And teach the House of Commons way ?
 Where had they all their gifted phrases, 635
 But from our Calamies and Cases ?¹
 Without whose sprinkeling and sowing,
 Whoe'er had heard of Nye or Owen ?²
 Their dispensations had been stilled,
 But for our Adoniram Byfield ;³ 640
 And had they not begun the war,
 They 'd ne'er been sainted as they are :⁴
 For saints in peace degenerate,
 And dwindle down to reprobate ;
 Their zeal corrupts, like standing water, 645
 In th' intervals of war and slaughter ;

¹ Calamy was minister of Aldermanbury, London, a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter, and frequent preacher before the Parliament. He was one of the first who whispered in the conventicles, what afterward he proclaimed openly, that for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against the king. Case, also, a Presbyterian, upon the deprivation of a loyalist, became minister of Saint Mary-Magdalen church, Milk-street; where it was usual with him thus to invite his people to the communion: "You that have freely and liberally contributed to the Parliament, for the defence of God's cause and the gospel, draw near," &c., instead of the words, "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins." He was one of the Assembly of Divines, preached for the Covenant, and printed his sermon; preached often before the Parliament, was a bitter enemy to Independents, and concerned with Love in his plot.

² Philip Nye was an Independent preacher, zealous against the king and bishops beyond most of his brethren. He went on purpose into Scotland to expedite the Covenant, and preached before both Houses in England, when that obligation was taken by them. He was at first a Presbyterian, and one of the Assembly; but afterwards left them. At the Restoration, it was debated by the Healing Parliament, for several hours, whether he should not be excepted from life. Doctur Owen was the most eminent divine of the Independents, and in great credit with Cromwell. He was promoted by them to the deanery of Christehureh, of Oxford. In 1654, being vice-chancellor, he offered to represent the university in Parliament; and, to remove the objection of his being a divine, renounced his orders, and pleaded that he was a layman. He was returned; but his election being questioned in the committee, he sat only a short time.

³ Byfield, originally an apothecary, was a noted Presbyterian, chaplain to Colonel Cholmondely's regiment, in the Earl of Essex's army, and one of the scribes to the Assembly of Divines. Afterwards he became minister of Collingborn, in Wilts, and assistant to the commissioners in ejecting scandalous ministers.

⁴ Had not the divines, on the Presbyterian side, fomented the differences, the Independents would never have come into play, or been taken notice of.

Abates the sharpness of its edge,
 Without the pow'r of sacrilege :¹
 And tho' they 've tricks to cast their sins,
 As easy 's serpents do their skins, 650
 That in a while grow out agen,
 In peace they turn mere carnal men,
 And from the most refin'd of saints,
 As nat'rally grow miscreants
 As barnacles turn soland geese 655
 In th' islands of the Orcades.²
 Their Dispensation's but a ticket
 For their conforming to the wicked,
 With whom their greatest difference
 Lies more in words and show, than sense : 660

¹ That is, if they have not the power and opportunity of committing sacrilege, by plundering the church lands.

² This was a common notion with the early Naturalists, and is among the figured wonders in *Olaus Magnus de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555, Gerald's Herbal, *Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica*, and several other old folios. But the poet is probably hitting at the Royal Society, who, in their twelfth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, No. 137, p. 925 give Sir Robert Moray's account of Barnacles hanging upon trees, each containing a little bird, so completely formed, that nothing appeared wanting, as to the external parts, for making up a perfect sea-fowl: the little bill, like that of a goose; the eyes marked; the head, neck, breast and wings, tail, and feet formed; the feathers every way perfectly shaped, and blackish coloured; and the feet like those of other water fowls. Pennant explains this by observing that the Barnacle (*Lepas anatifera*) is furnished with a feathered beard, which, in a credulous age, was believed to be part of a young bird; it is often found adhering to the bottoms of ships. Sir John Mandeville, in his *Voyages*, says, "In my country there are trees that do bear fruit that become birds flying, and they are good to eat, and that which falls in the water lives, and that which falls on the earth dies." Hector Boetius, in his *History of Scotland*, tells us of a goose-bearing tree, as it is called in the Orcades: that is, one whose leaves falling into the water, are turned to those geese which are called Soland geese, and found in prodigious numbers in those parts. In Moore's *Travels into the inland parts of Africa*, p. 54, we read: "This evening, December 18, 1730, I supped upon oysters which grew upon trees. Down the river (Gambia) where the water is salt, and near the sea, the river is bounded with trees called mangroves, whose leaves being long and heavy weigh the boughs into the water. To these leaves the young oysters fasten in great quantities, where they grow till they are very large; and then you cannot separate them from the tree, but are obliged to cut off the boughs: the oysters hanging on them resemble a rope of onions."

For as the Pope, that keeps the gate
 Of heaven, wears three crowns of state ;¹
 So he that keeps the gate of hell,
 Proud Cerb'rus, wears three heads as well :
 And, if the world has any troth, 665
 Some have been canoniz'd in both.
 But that which does them greatest harm,
 Their sp'ritual gizzards are too warm,²
 Which puts the overheated sots
 In fevers still, like other goats ;³ 670
 For tho' the Whore bends hereticks
 With flames of fire, like crooked sticks,⁴
 Our schismatics so vastly differ,
 Th' hotter they 're they grow the stiffer ;
 Still setting off their sp'ritual goods, 675
 With fierce and pertinacious feuds :
 For zeal 's a dreadful termagant,
 That teaches saints to tear and rant,
 And Independents to profess
 The doctrine of Dependences ;⁵ 680
 Turns meek and sneaking Secret ones,⁶
 To raw-heads fierce and bloody-bones ;
 And not content with endless quarrels
 Against the wicked, and their morals,
 The Gibellines, for want of Guelfs,⁷ 685
 Divert their rage upon themselves.

¹ The pope claims the power of the keys, and the tiara or triple crown is a badge of papal dignity.

² Persons are said to have a broiling in their gizzards when they stomach anything very much.

³ This was an old medical superstition. Varro, ii. 3, 5, &c.

⁴ Rome was identified with the whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelations : and the Romanists are said to have attempted the conversion of infidels by means of fire and faggots, as men made crooked sticks straight by fire and steam.

⁵ "I am called an Independent," said one, when asked by a Magistrate (before whom he went to make his declarations and obtain his license), "because I *depend upon my Bible*."

⁶ The early editions read thus, but Grey reads "secret sneaking ones."

⁷ These names of distinction were first made use of at Pistoia, where, when the magistrates expelled the Panzaticchi, there chanced to be two brothers, Germans, one of whom, named Guelph, was for the pope, the other, Gibel, for the emperor. The spirit of these parties raged with great violence in Italy and Germany during the middle ages. Dr Heyliu says some are

For now the war is not between
 The brethren and the men of sin,
 But saint and saint to spill the blood
 Of one another's brotherhood, 690
 Where neither side can lay pretence
 To liberty of conscience,¹
 Or zealous suff'ring for the Cause,
 To gain one groat's worth of applause;
 For tho' endur'd with resolution, 695
 'Twill ne'er amount to persecution;
 Shall precious saints, and Secret ones,
 Break one another's outward bones,²
 And eat the flesh of bretheren,
 Instead of kings and mighty men? 700
 When fiends agree among themselves,³
 Shall they⁴ be found the greater elves?
 When Bel's at union with the Dragon,
 And Baal-Peor friends with Dagon;
 When savage bears agree with bears, 705
 Shall Secret ones lug saints by th' ears,
 And not atone their fatal wrath,⁵
 When common danger threatens both?
 Shall mastiffs, by the collars pull'd,
 Engag'd with bulls, let go their hold; 710
 And saints, whose necks are pawn'd at stake,⁶
 No notice of the danger take?
 But tho' no pow'r of heav'n or hell
 Can pacify fanatic zeal,
 Who would not guess there might be hopes, 715
 The fear of gallowses and ropes

of opinion that the fiction of *Elfs* and *Goblins*, by which we used to frighten children, was derived from *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines*. Butler wrote these lines before the Guelphs had become the ancestors of our own royal line. See the genealogy in Burke's Royal Pedigrees.

¹ That is, not having granted liberty of conscience.

² A sneer upon the abuse of Scripture phrases, alluding to Psalm ii. 9; the same may be said of lines 326, 328, and 700.

³ O shame to men! devil with devil damn'd

Firm concord holds——

Paradise Lost, ii. 496.

⁴ *They*, that is, the saints, see v. 689, 697.

⁵ *Atone*, that is, reconcile, see v. 717.

⁶ That is, *and saints*, whose all is at stake, as they will be hanged if things do not take a friendly turn.

Before their eyes might reconcile
 Their animosities a while?
 At least until they 'd a clear stage,
 And equal Freedom to engage, 720
 Without the danger of surprise
 By both our common enemies?
 This none but we alone could doubt,¹
 Who understood their Workings-out,
 And know 'em both in soul and conscience, 725
 Giv'n up t' as reprobate a nonsense²
 As spiritual out-laws, whom the pow'r
 Of miracle can ne'er restore.
 We, whom at first they set up under,
 In revelation only 'f plunder, 730
 Who since have had so many trials
 Of their encroaching Self-denials,³
 That rook'd upon us with design⁴
 To out-reform and undermine;
 Took all our int'rests and commands 735
 Perfidiously out of our hands;
 Involv'd us in the Guilt of Blood,
 Without the motive gains allow'd,⁵
 And made us serve as ministerial,
 Like younger sons of father Belial. 740
 And yet, for all th' inhuman wrong
 They 'd done us and the Cause so long,
 We never fail'd to carry on
 The work still, as we had begun:
 But true and faithfully obey'd, 745
 And neither preach'd them hurt, nor pray'd;
 Nor troubled them to crop our ears,
 Nor hang us, like the Cavaliers;

¹ We alone could doubt that the fear of the gallows might reconcile their animosities, &c.

² Given up to such a state of reprobation and the guidance of their own folly, that nothing, not even miraculous power, can restore them.

³ The Independents got rid of the Presbyterian leaders by the Self-denying Ordinance.

⁴ That played the cheat.

⁵ That is, without allowing us the gains which were the motives to such actions.

Nor put them to the charge of jails,
 To find us pill'ries and carts'-tails, 750
 Or hangman's wages,¹ which the state
 Was forc'd, before them, to be at ;
 That cut, like tallies, to the stumps,
 Our ears for keeping true accompts,²
 And burnt our vessels, like a new- 755
 Seal'd peck, or bush'l, for being true
 But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,
 Held forth the Cause against all others,
 Disdaining equally to yield
 One syllable of what we held. 760
 And though we differ'd now and then
 'Bout outward things, and outward men,
 Our inward men, and Constant Frame
 Of spirit, still were near the same ;
 And till they first began to cant,³ 765
 And sprinkle down the Covenant,
 We ne'er had Call in any place,
 Nor dream'd of teaching down Free-grace ;
 But join'd our gifts perpetually,
 Against the common enemy, 770
 Although 'twas ours, and their opinion,
 Each other's church was but a Rimmon.⁴

¹ The value of thirteen pence halfpenny, in a coin called a *thirteener*, which the State had to defray, when the Puritans' ears were cropped.

² Tallies are corresponding notches made by small traders on sticks, which are cut down as the accompts are settled. The meaning seems to be : the State made us suffer for keeping true accounts, or for being true, cutting our ears like tallies, and branding the vessels of our bodies like a measure with the mark fresh upon it. There was a seal put upon true and just measures and weights.

³ The term cant is derived from Mr Andrew Cant, and his son Alexander, whose seditious preaching and praying was in Scotland called canting. *Grey*.

⁴ A Syrian idol. See 2 Kings v. 18. And *Paradise Lost*, i. 467 :

Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat
 Was fair Damascus, on 'the fertile banks
 Of Abbana and Pharpar, lucid streams.

The meaning is, that in the opinion of both, church communion with each other was a like case with that of Naaman's bowing himself in the house of Rimmon, equally laying both under the necessity of a petition for pardon : the Independents knew that their tenets were so opposite to those of

And yet, for all this Gospel-union,
 And outward show of church-communion,
 They'd ne'er admit us to our shares 775
 Of ruling church or state affairs,
 Nor give us leave t' absolve, or sentence
 T' our own conditions of repentance :
 But shar'd our dividend o' th' crown,
 We had so painfully preach'd down ; 780
 And forc'd us, though against the grain,
 T' have Calls to teach it up again.¹
 For 'twas but justice to restore
 The wrongs we had receiv'd before ;
 And when 'twas held forth in our way 785
 We'd been ungrateful not to pay :
 Who for the right we've done the nation,
 Have earn'd our temporal salvation,
 And put our vessels in a way
 Once more to come again in play : 790
 For if the turning of us out
 Has brought this providence about
 And that our only suffering
 Is able to bring in the king,²
 What would our actions not have done, 795
 Had we been suffer'd to go on ?
 And therefore may pretend t' a share,
 At least, in Carrying on th' affair :
 But whether that be so or not,
 We've done enough to have it thought, 800

the Presbyterians that they could not coalesce, and therefore concealed them till they were strong enough to declare them.

¹ The Presbyterians entered into several plots to restore the king. For it was but justice, said they, to repair the injuries we had received from the Independents; and when monarchy was offered to be restored in our own sense, and with all the limitations we desired, it had been ungrateful not to consent. *Nash*.

² Many of the Presbyterians, says Lord Clarendon, when ousted from their preferment, or excluded from the House of Commons by the Independents, pretended to make a merit of it, in respect of their loyalty. And some of them had the confidence to present themselves to King Charles the Second, both before and after his Restoration, as sufferers for the crown; this behaviour is ridiculed in many parts of this canto.

And that's as good as if we'd done 't,
 And easier past upon account :
 For if it be but half denied,
 'Tis half as good as justified.
 The world is naturally averse 805
 To all the truth it sees or hears,
 But swallows nonsense and a lie,
 With greediness and gluttony ;
 And tho' it have the pique, and long,
 'Tis still for something in the wrong :¹ 810
 As women long when they're with child
 For things extravagant and wild ;
 For meats ridiculous and fulsome,
 But seldom anything that's wholesome ;
 And, like the world, men's jobbernoles 815
 Turn round upon their ears, the poles ;²
 And what they 're confidently told,
 By no sense else can be controll'd.
 And this, perhaps, may be the means
 Once more to hedge-in Providence. 820
 For as relapses make diseases
 More desp'rate than their first accesses ;
 If we but get again in pow'r,
 Our work is easier than before ;
 And we more ready and expert 825
 I' th' mystery, to do our part :
 We, who did rather undertake
 The first war to create, than make ;³
 And when of nothing 'twas begun,
 Rais'd funds as strange, to carry 't on :⁴ 830
 Trepann'd the state, and fac'd it down,
 With plots and projects of our own :

¹ *Pique*, or *pica*, is a depraved appetite, or desire of improper food, to which sickly females are more especially subject. For an amusing account of these longings, see *Spectator*, No. 326.

² Men's *heads* are turned with the lies and nonsense poured into their ears. See v. 1008.

³ By creating war, he means, finding pretences for it, stirring up and fomenting it. By making war, he means, waging and carrying it on.

⁴ The taxes levied by Parliament in four years are said to have been £17,512,400.

And if we did such feats at first,¹
 What can we now we're better vers'd?
 Who have a freer latitude 835
 Than sinners give themselves, allow'd;
 And therefore likeliest to bring in,
 On fairest terms, our Discipline;
 To which it was reveal'd long since
 We were ordain'd by Providence, 840
 When three saints' ears, our predecessors,
 The Cause's primitive confessors,²
 B'ing crucify'd, the nation stood
 In just so many years of blood,³
 That, multiply'd by six, express'd 845
 The perfect Number of the Beast,⁴
 And prov'd that we must be the men
 To bring this work about agen;
 And those who laid the first foundation,
 Complete the thorough Reformation: 850
 For who have gifts to carry on
 So great a work, but we alone?
 What churches have such able pastors,
 And precious, powerful, preaching masters?
 Possess'd with absolute dominions 855
 O'er brethren's purses and opinions,

¹ The schemes described in these lines are those which the Presbyterians were charged with practising in the beginning of the civil commotions, to enrage the people against the king and the Church of England.

² Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, who, before the civil war, were set in the pillory, and had their ears cropt. The severe sentence which was passed on these persons, and on Leighton, contributed much to inflame the minds of men, and to incense them against the bishops, the Star-chamber, and the government.

³ The civil war lasted six years, from 1642, till the death of the king in 1648-9.

⁴ Alluding to Revelations, ch. xiii. 18. "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six." The multiplication of three units by six, gives three sixes, and the juxtaposition of three sixes makes 666, or six hundred sixty-six, the number of the beast. This mysterious number and name excited the curiosity of mankind very early, and the conjectural solutions of it are numberless; every nation, sect, or person, finding by one means or other that the name of the hostile nation, sect, or person, involved the mystical 666.

And trusted with the Double keys
 Of heaven, and their warehouses?
 Who, when the Cause is in distress,
 Can furnish out what sums they please, 860
 That brooding lie in bankers' hands,
 To be dispos'd at their commands;
 And daily increase and multiply,
 With doctrine, use, and usury:
 Can fetch in parties, as in war 865
 All other heads of cattle are,
 From th' enemy of all religions,
 As well as high and low conditions,
 And share them, from blue ribbons down
 To all blue aprons in the town;¹ 870
 From ladies hurry'd in calleches,
 With cornets at their footmen's breeches,²
 The bawds as fat as mother Nab,
 All guts and belly, like a crab.³
 Our party's great, and better tied 875
 With oaths, and trade, than any side;⁴
 Has one considerable improvement,
 To double-fortify the Cov'nant;
 I mean our covenants to purchase
 Delinquents' titles, and the churches, 880
 That pass in sale, from hand to hand,
 Among ourselves, for current land,
 And rise or fall, like Indian actions,⁵
 According to the rate of factions;
 Our best reserve for Reformation, 885
 When New outgoings give occasion;

¹ Supposed by Dr Grey to mean the tradesmen and their apprentices, who wore blue aprons, and took a very active part in the troubles, both by preaching and fighting. But it appears from the Rump Songs that preachers also wore blue aprons.

² Callêche, or calash, a light carriage. Cornets were ornaments which servants wore upon their breeches.

³ Ladies of this profession are generally described as coarse and fat. The orator means, that the leaders of the faction could fetch in parties of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest.

⁴ The strength of the Presbyterian party lay in the citizens.

⁵ Grey thinks this alludes to the subscription set on foot at the general court of the East India House, Oct. 19, 1657. *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 387.

That keeps the loins of brethren girt,
 Their Covenant, their creed, t' assert ;¹
 And, when they've pack'd a parliament,
 Will once more try th' expedient : 890
 Who can already muster friends,
 To serve for members to our ends,
 That represent no part o' th' nation,
 But Fisher's-folly congregation ;²
 Are only tools to our intrigues, 895
 And sit like geese to hatch our eggs ;
 Who, by their precedents of wit,
 T' outfast, outloiter, and outsit,³
 Can order matters under-hand,
 To put all bus'ness to a stand : 900
 Lay public bills aside, for private,
 And make 'em one another drive out ;
 Divert the great and necessary
 With trifles to contest and vary,
 And make the nation represent, 905
 And serve for us in parliament ;

¹ A lay preacher at Banbury said, "We know, O Lord, that Abraham made a covenant, and Moses and David made a covenant, and our Saviour made a covenant, but the Parliament's covenant is the greatest of all covenants." The Marquis of Hamilton being sent into Scotland to appease the troubles there, demanded of the Scotch that they should renounce the covenant ; they answered, that they would sooner renounce their baptism.

² Jasper Fisher, one of the six clerks in Chancery, a member of the goldsmith's company, and justice of the peace, spent his fortune in laying out magnificent gardens and building a fine house ; which, therefore, was called Fisher's Folly. After having been the residence of the Earl of Oxford and Sir Roger Manning, it was used as a conventicle. See Fuller's Worthies, p. 197, and Stowe's Survey. The place where the house stood is now Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate. The word *represent* means either to stand in the place of others, or to resemble them. In the first sense, the members they should pack, would represent their constituents ; but in the latter sense, only a meeting of enthusiastic sectaries.

³ By these arts the leaders on the Parliament side defeated the purposes of the loyalists, and carried such points in the House as they were bent upon. Thus the Remonstrance was carried, as Lord Clarendon says, merely by the hour of the night ; the debates being continued till two o'clock, and very many having withdrawn out of pure faintness and disability to attend the conclusion. The bill against Episcopacy, and other bills, were carried by out-fasting and out-sitting those who opposed them : which made Lord Falkland say, that they who hated bishops hated them worse than the devil, and they who loved them, loved them not so well as their own dinners.

Cut out more work than can be done
 In Plato's year,¹ but finish none,
 Unless it be the Bulls of Lenthall,
 That always pass'd for fundamental: ² 910
 Can set up grandee against grandee,
 To squander time away, and bandy;
 Make lords and commoners lay sieges
 To one another's privileges;
 And, rather than compound the quarrel, 915
 Engage, to th' inevitable peril
 Of both their ruins, th' only scope .
 And consolation of our hope;
 Who, tho' we do not play the game,
 Assist as much by giving aim;³ 920
 Can introduce our ancient arts,
 For heads of factions t' act their parts;
 Know what a leading voice is worth,
 A seconding, a third, or fourth;
 How much a casting voice comes to, 925
 That turns up trump of Ay, or No;
 And, by adjusting all at th' end,
 Share ev'ry one his dividend.
 An art that so much study cost,
 And now's in danger to be lost, 930
 Unless our ancient virtuosos,
 That found it out, get into th' houses.⁴
 These are the courses that we took
 To carry things by hook or crook,⁵

¹ The Platonic year, or time required for a complete revolution of the entire machine of the world, has by some been made to consist of 4000 common years: others have thought it must extend to 26,000, or still more.

² The ordinances published by the House of Commons were signed by Lenthall, the speaker: and are therefore familiarly called the Bulls of Lenthall. They were fundamental, because on them the new order in church and state was reared. Afterwards, when the Parliament became the *Rump*, the fundamentals acquired a new meaning.

³ Or, in the bowler's phrase, by *giving ground*.

⁴ The old members of the *Rump* were excluded from Cromwell's Parliaments. When they presented themselves with Prynne at their head, they were met at the door by Colonel Pride, and refused admittance.

⁵ Crook and Hutton were the only judges who dissented from their brethren, when the case of Ship-money was argued in the Exchequer: which

And practis'd down from forty-four, 935
 Until they turn'd us out of door:¹
 Besides the herds of *boutèfeus*²
 We set on work, without the House.
 When ev'ry knight and citizen
 Kept legislative journeymen, 940
 To bring them in intelligence,
 From all points of the rabble's sense,
 And fill the lobbies of both Houses
 With politic important buzzes ;
 Set up committees of cabals,³ 945
 To pack designs without the walls ;
 Examine and draw up all news,
 And fit it to our present use ;
 Agree upon the plot o' th' farce,
 And ev'ry one his part rehearse ; 950
 Make Q's of answers, to way-lay
 What th' other parties like to say ;⁴
 What repartees, and smart reflections,
 Shall be return'd to all objections ;
 And who shall break the master-jest, 955
 And what, and how, upon the rest ;
 Help pamphlets out, with safe editions,
 Of proper slanders and seditious,
 And treason for a token send,
 By Letter to a Country Friend ; 960
 Disperse lampoons, the only wit
 That men, like burglary, commit,
 With falser than a padder's face,
 That all its owner does betrays ;

occasioned the wags to say, punningly, that the king carried it by Hook, but not by Crook.

¹ From the time of the Self-denying ordinance, 1644, when the Presbyterians were turned out from all places of profit and power, till Pride's Purge, on December 7, 1648.

² Incendiaries.

³ The poet probably alludes to the ministers of Charles the Second, the initials of whose names were satirically so arranged as to make up the word cabal. See note, page 25.

⁴ Prisoners in Newgate, and other gaols, have often sham-examinations, to prepare them with answers for their real trials.

Who therefore dares not trust it, when 965
 He's in his calling, to be seen.¹
 Disperse the dung on barren earth,
 To bring new weeds of discord forth;
 Be sure to keep up congregations,
 In spite of laws and proclamations: 970
 For charlatans can do no good,²
 Until they're mounted in a crowd;
 And when they're punish'd, all the hurt
 Is but to fare the better for't;
 As long as confessors are sure 975
 Of double pay for all th' endure,³
 And what they earn in persecution,
 Are paid t' a groat in contribution:
 Whence some tub-holders-forth have made
 In powd'ring-tubs their richest trade; 980
 And, while they kept their shops in prison,
 Have found their prices strangely risen.⁴

¹ Padders, or highwaymen, usually covered their faces with a mask or piece of crape.

² Charlatan is a quack doctor, whom punishment makes more widely known, and so benefits instead of injures.

³ Alluding again to Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, who having been pilloried, fined, and banished to different parts of the kingdoms, by the sentence of the Star-chamber, were by the Parliament afterward recalled, and rewarded out of the estates of those who had punished them. In their way back to London they were honoured with loud acclamations, and received many presents.

———— silenc'd ministers,
 That get estates by being undone
 For tender conscience, and have none:
 Like those that with their credit drive
 A trade without a stock, and thrive.

Butler's Remains, vol. i. 63.

⁴ Powdering-tubs, which were tubs for salting beef in, may here signify either prisons or hospitals. The term *powdering* was a synonyme for *sprinkling* with salt, and so came to be applied to the places where infected persons were cured. When any one gets into a scrape, he is said to be in a pretty pickle. Ancient Pistol throws some light upon this passage when he bids Nym

“to the spital go,
 And from the *powdering-tub* of infamy
 Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,
 Doll Tearsheet she by name, and her espouse.”

Hen. V. Act i.

Disdain to own the least regret
 For all the Christian blood we 've let ;
 'Twill save our credit, and maintain 985
 Our title to do so again ;
 That needs not cost one dram of sense,
 But pertinacious impudence.
 Our constancy t' our principles,
 In time will wear out all things else ; 990
 Like marble statues, rubb'd in pieces
 With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses ;¹
 While those who turn and wind their oaths,
 Have swell'd and sunk, like other froths ;
 Prevail'd a while, but 'twas not long 995
 Before from world to world they swung ;
 As they had turn'd from side to side,
 And as the changelings liv'd, they dy'd.
 This said, th' impatient statesmonger
 Could now contain himself no longer,² 1000
 Who had not spar'd to show his piques
 Against th' haranguer's politics,
 With smart remarks of leering faces
 And annotations of grimaces.
 After he'd minister'd a dose 1005
 Of snuff mundungus to his nose,³
 And powder'd th' inside of his skull,⁴
 Instead of th' outward jobbermol,⁵

Butler may mean that some of the tub-holders-forth kept houses of ill fame, from whence the transit to the powdering-tub was frequent. See also Measure for Measure, Act iii. sc. 2.

¹ Round the Casa Santa of Loretto, the marble is worn into a deep channel, by the knees and kisses of devout pilgrims. Many statues of saints are in like manner worn by the adoration of their votaries.

² As the former orator had harangued on the side of the Presbyterians, his antagonist, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, now smartly inveighs against them, and justifies the principles and conduct of the Independents.

³ Grey illustrates what he calls the beastly habit of snuff-taking by a story from Chardin's Travels, quoted by Montaigne, Essay 22, which is : that at *Bootan*, in the East Indies, the prince is held in such esteem and reverence, that the courtiers collect his ordure in a linen cloth, and after drying and preparing it, not only use it as snuff, but strew it over their meals as a great delicacy.

⁴ The early editions read "soul."

⁵ That is, thick-head, or blockhead. See Wright's Glossary

He shook it with a scornful look,
 On th' adversary, and thus he spoke : 1010
 In dressing a calf's head, altho'
 The tongue and brains together go,
 Both keep so great a distance here,
 'Tis strange if ever they come near ;
 For who did ever play his gambols 1015
 With such insufferable rambles,
 To make the bringing in the king,
 And keeping of him out, one thing ?
 Which none could do, but those that swore
 T' as point-blank nonsense heretofore ; 1020
 That to defend was to invade,
 And to assassinate to aid :¹
 Unless, because you drove him out,
 And that was never made a doubt ;
 No pow'r is able to restore 1025
 And bring him in, but on your score :
 A sp'ritual doctrine, that conduces
 Most properly to all your uses.
 'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said
 To cure the wounds the vermin made ;² 1030
 And weapons, dress'd with salves, restore
 And heal the hurts they gave before :³
 But whether Presbyterians have
 So much good nature as the salve,
 Or virtue in them as the vermin, 1035
 Those who have tried them can determine.
 Indeed 'tis pity you should miss
 Th' arrears of all your services,

¹ This alludes to Rolf, a shoemaker, who was indicted for entertaining a design to kill the king when imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, in evidence of which Osborne and Doucet swore positively. Serjeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try the case, and is said to have been bribed to get Rolf off, gave an unfair charge to the jury, by saying: "There was a time indeed when intentions and words were made treason; but God forbid it should be so now: how did anybody know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet (the evidence), would have made away with the king, and that Rolf charged his pistol to preserve him." Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 180.

² This is Pliny's statement, Natural History, xxix. 29. Similar stories are extant respecting the fat of the viper.

³ A sneer at Sir Kenelm Digby's doctrine of sympathy.

And for th' eternal obligation
 Y' have laid upon th' ungrateful nation, 1040
 Be us'd s' unconscionably hard,
 As not to find a just reward,
 For letting rapine loose, and murder,
 To rage just so far, but no further :¹
 And setting all the land on fire, 1045
 To burn t' a scantling, but no higher :²
 For vent'ring to assassinate,
 And cut the throats of church and state ;
 And not b' allow'd the fittest men
 To take the charge of both agen : 1050
 Especially that have the Grace
 Of Self-denying Gifted face ;
 Who, when your projects have miscarry'd,
 Can lay them, with undaunted forehead,
 On those you painfully³ trepann'd, 1055
 And sprinkled in at second hand ;⁴
 As we have been, to share the guilt
 Of Christian blood, devoutly spilt ;⁵
 For so our ignorance was flamm'd
 To damn ourselves, t' avoid being damn'd ;⁶ 1060
 Till finding your old foe, the hangman,
 Was like to lurch you at backgammon,⁷

¹ Though the Presbyterians began the war, yet they pretended they had no thoughts of occasioning the bloodshed and devastation which were consequent upon it. They intended to bring the king to reason, not to murder him. It happened to them, however, as to the would-be conjurer, who, by certain words he had overheard, sent a broomstick to fetch water; but not recollecting the words to make it stop, it went and fetched water without ceasing, till it filled the house, and drowned him.

² Grey compares this to the joke of two countrymen who having bought a barn in partnership, one threatened to set his own half on fire.

³ Meaning, with pains, laboriously. Walker says, "that by an impudent fallacy, called *Translatio Criminis*, the Independents laid their brats at other men's doors."

⁴ Baptizing members into their churches in opposition to the practice of the Anabaptists.

⁵ The war was begun and carried on by the Presbyterians in the name of religion, and in defence of the gospel.

⁶ Meaning, to commit robbery, rebellion, and murder, with a view of keeping out Arminianism, Popery, &c.

⁷ That is, finding the king was likely to get the better of you, and that we were all in danger of being hanged as traitors, we took the war out of your hands into our own management.

And win your necks upon the set,
 As well as ours, who did but bet ;
 For he had drawn your ears before, 1065
 And nick'd 'em on the self-same score,
 We threw the box and dice away,
 Before you 'd lost us at foul play ;
 And brought you down to rook and lie,
 And fancy only on the by ;¹ 1070
 Redeem'd your forfeit jobbernoles,²
 From perching upon lofty poles,
 And rescu'd all your outward traitors,
 From hanging up, like alligators ;³
 For which ingeniously ye 've show'd 1075
 Your Presbyterian gratitude ;
 Would freely 've paid us home in kind,
 And not have been one rope behind.⁴
 Those were your motives to divide,
 And scruple, on the other side,⁵ 1080
 To turn your zealous frauds, and force,
 To fits of conscience and remorse ;
 To be convinc'd they were in vain,
 And face about for new again ;
 For truth no more unveil'd your eyes, 1085
 Than maggots are convinc'd to flies :⁶

¹ *By-bets* are bets made by spectators of a game, or standers-by: the Presbyterians, from being principals in the cause, were reduced to a secondary position; and from being principal players of the game, became mere lookers-on.

² The heads of traitors were set up on poles at Temple-bar or London Bridge.

³ Alligators were frequently hung up in the shops of druggists and apothecaries.

⁴ The Dissenters, when in power, were no enemies to persecution, and showed themselves as hearty persecutors as ever the Church had been. They maintained that "A toleration of different ways of churches and church government will be to this kingdom very mischievous, pernicious, and destructive;" and Calamy, being asked what he would do with those who differed from him in opinion, said, "He would not meddle with their consciences, but only with their persons and estates."

⁵ He tells the Presbyterians that their jealousy of the Independents caused their treachery to them, not any scruple of conscience.

⁶ The change was produced in them merely by the course of their nature. The edition of 1710 reads :

Than maggots when they turn to flies.

And therefore all your Lights and Calls
 Are but apocryphal and false,
 To charge us with the consequences,
 Of all your native insolences, 1090
 That to your own imperious wills
 Laid Law and Gospel neck and heels ;
 Corrupted the Old Testament,
 To serve the New for precedent ;
 T' amend its errors and defects, 1095
 With murder and rebellion texts ;¹
 Of which there is not any one
 In all the book to sow upon ;
 And therefore from your tribe, the Jews
 Held Christian doctrine forth, and use ; 1100
 As Mahomet, your chief, began
 To mix them in the Alcoran ;²

¹ The Presbyterians, he says, finding no countenance for their purposes in the New Testament, took their measures of obedience from some instances of rebellion in the Old. Among the corrupted texts to which Butler alludes is probably that printed at Cambridge, by Buck and Daniel, in 1638, where Acts vi. 3, reads *ye* instead of "*we* may appoint over this business," a corruption attributed by some to the Independents, by others to the Presbyterians. But several of the Bibles printed either during or immediately preceding the Commonwealth contain gross blunders. In the so-called *Wicked Bible*, printed by Bates and Lucas, 1632, the seventh commandment is printed, "Thou *shalt* commit adultery." In another Bible, printed in the Reign of Charles I., and immediately suppressed, Psalm xiv. reads, "The fool hath said in his heart, *there is a God.*" One printed during the Commonwealth (1653) by Field, reads at Rom. vi. 13, "Neither yield ye your members as instruments of *righteousness* unto sin ;" and at 1 Cor. vi. 9, "Know ye not that the unrighteous *shall inherit* the kingdom of God." Many other Bibles, some of much later date, present typographical errors, the most remarkable of which is perhaps that printed at Belfast, by James Blood, 1716 (the first Bible printed in Ireland), which at John viii. 11, reads *sin on more*, instead of "sin no more."

² In his Pindaric Ode upon an hypocritical nonconformist, Remains, vol. i. p. 135, Mr Butler says :

For the Turks' patriarch, Mahomet,
 Was the first great reformer, and the chief
 Of th' ancient Christian belief,
 That mix'd it with new light and cheat,
 With revelations, dreams, and visions,
 And apostolic superstitions,
 To be held forth, and carry'd on by war .
 And his successor was a presbyter.

| | |
|---|------|
| Denounc'd and pray'd with fierce devotion, And bended elbows on the cushion ; Stole from the beggars all your tones, | 1105 |
| And gifted mortifying groans ; Had lights where better eyes were blind, As pigs are said to see the wind ; ¹ Fill'd Bedlam with Predestination, And Knightsbridge with Illumination ; ² | 1110 |
| Made children, with your tones, to run for't, As bad as Bloodybones or Lunsford : ³ While women, great with child, miscarry'd, For being to Malignants marry'd. Transform'd all wives to Dalilahs, | 1115 |
| Whose husbands were not for the Cause ; ⁴ And turn'd the men to ten-horn'd cattle, Because they came not out to battle ; ⁵ Made tailors' 'prentices turn heroes, For fear of b'ing transform'd to Meroz, ⁶ | 1120 |

¹ Pigs are said to be very sagacious in foretelling wind and weather. Thus, in a poem entitled *Hudibras at Court*, we read :

And now, as hogs can see the wind,
And storms at distance coming find.

² At this village, near London, was a lazar-house, to which the poet alludes.

³ That is, frightened children as much by your preaching, as if you had threatened them with Rawhead and Bloodybones. Sir Thomas Lunsford, who was represented by his enemies as devouring children out of mere blood-thirstiness, was lieutenant of the Tower a little before the beginning of the war ; but afterwards removed by desire of the Parliament. He is represented by Lord Clarendon as a man of desperate character and dissolute habits.

⁴ If the husband sided not with the Presbyterians, his wife was represented as insidious and a betrayer of her country's interests, such as Dalilah was to Samson and the Israelites. Judges xvi.

⁵ Compared them to the ten horns, or ten kings, who gave their power and strength to the beast. Revelation xvii. 12. See also Daniel vii. 7. A cuckold is called a horned beast, and a notorious cuckold may be called a ten-horned beast, there being no beast described with more horns than the beast in vision.

⁶ "Curse ye Meroz," said the angel of the Lord ; "curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof ; because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Judges v. 23. This was a favourite text with those who preached for the Parliament : and it assisted them much in raising recruits.

And rather forfeit their indentures,
 Than not espouse the saints' adventures :
 Could transubstantiate, metamorphose,
 And charm whole herds of beasts, like Orpheus ;
 Enchant the king's and church's lands, 1125
 T' obey and follow your commands,
 And settle on a new freehold,
 As Marcley-hill had done of old :¹
 Could turn the Cov'nant, and translate
 The Gospel into spoons and plate ; 1130
 Expound upon all merchant's cashes,
 And open th' Intricatest places ;
 Could catechise a money-box,
 And prove all pouches orthodox ;
 Until the Cause became a Damon, 1135
 And Pythias the wicked Mammon.²
 And yet, in spite of all your charms
 To conjure Legion up in arms,
 And raise more devils in the rout
 Than e'er y' were able to cast out, 1140
 Y' have been reduc'd, and by those fools,
 Bred up, you say, in your own schools,
 Who, tho' but gifted at your feet,³
 Have made it plain they have more wit,
 By whom you've been so oft trepann'd, 1145
 And held forth out of all command ;
 Out-gifted, out-impuls'd, out-done,
 And out-reveal'd at Carryings-on ;
 Of all your Dispensations worm'd,
 Out-providenc'd and out-reform'd ; 1150
 Ejected out of church and state,
 And all things but the people's hate ;

¹ Not far from Ledbury in Herefordshire, towards the conflux of the Lug and Wye, in the parish of Marcley, is a hill, which in the year 1575 moved to a considerable distance. Camden, in his *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, book ii. p. 20 thinks the motion was occasioned by an earthquake, which he calls *brasmata* ; though the cause of it more probably was a subterraneous current, as the motion continued for three days. Some houses and a chapel were overturned.

² Until Mammon and the Cause were as closely united and as dear friends as Damon and Pythias, the story of whose well-known friendship is celebrated by Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and others.

³ Acts xxii. 3.

And spirited out of th' enjoyments
 Of precious, edifying employments,
 By those who lodg'd their Gifts and Graces, 1155
 Like better bowlers, in your places :¹
 All which you bore with resolution,
 Charg'd on th' account of persecution ;
 And tho' most righteously oppress'd,
 Against your wills, still acquiesc'd ; 1160
 And never humm'd and hah'd sedition,²
 Nor snuffled treason, nor misprision :
 That is, because you never durst ;
 For had you preach'd and pray'd your worst,
 Alas ! you were no longer able 1165
 To raise your posse of the rabble :
 One single red-coat sentinel³
 Outcharm'd the magic of the spell,
 And, with his squirt-fire,⁴ could disperse
 Whole troops with chapter rais'd and verse. 1170
 We knew too well those tricks of yours,
 To leave it ever in your pow'rs,
 Or trust our safeties, or undoings,
 To your disposing of outgoings,
 Or to your ordering Providence, 1175
 One farthing's worth of consequence.
 For had you pow'r to undermine,
 Or wit to carry a design,
 Or correspondence to trepan,
 Inveigle, or betray one man ; 1180
 There's nothing else that intervenes,
 And bars your zeal to use the means ;
 And therefore wond'rous like, no doubt,
 To bring in kings, or keep them out :

¹ The preceding lines described precisely the relation of the Independents to the Presbyterians, during the Commonwealth.

² Hums and hahs were the ordinary expressions of approbation, uttered by hearers of sermons. And the "snuffle" was then, and long afterwards, "the nasal drawl heard in conventicles." Sir Roger L'Estrange distinguishes between the religion of the head and that of the nose. *Apology*, p. 40.

³ The "red-coat" is thus specially mentioned because it was now, for the first time, made the soldier's peculiar dress ; and the Independents formed the majority of the soldiery.

⁴ That is, his musket.

Brave undertakers to Restore, 1185
 That could not keep yourselves in pow'r ;
 T' advance the int'rests of the crown,
 That wanted wit to keep your own.
 'Tis true you have, for I'd be loth
 To wrong ye, done your parts in both ; 1190
 To keep him out, and bring him in,
 As grace is introduc'd by sin :¹
 For 'twas your zealous want of sense,
 And sanctify'd impertinence ;
 Your carrying bus'ness in a huddle, 1195
 That forc'd our rulers to New-model ;
 Oblig'd the state to tack about,
 And turn you, root and branch, all out ;
 To reformado, one and all,
 T' your great croysado general :² 1200
 Your greedy slav'ring² to devour,
 Before 'twas in your clutches' pow'r ;
 That sprung the game you were to set,
 Before ye 'd time to draw the net :
 Your spite to see the church's lands 1205
 Divided into other hands,

¹ Thus Saint Paul to the Romans : " Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound ? "

² Called croysado general, because the Parliament pretended to engage in the war chiefly on account of religion : a term derived from the holy war against the Turks and Saracens, which obtained the name of Crusade, or Croisado, from the cross displayed on the banners. The Independents, finding that the Presbyterians, who held the principal places both in Parliament and in the army, instead of aiming at what had been proposed in the Covenant, were solely intent upon securing for themselves the position and authority of the Church of England, and that the Lord General Essex was plainly afraid of beating the king too well, proposed and carried the *Self-denying Ordinance*, by which all members of Parliament (except Fairfax and Cromwell) were prohibited from holding commissions in the army and seats in the legislature at the same time. Essex, being an " hereditary legislator," was forced to resign his command ; the others had to choose between the Parliament and the army, and most of the Presbyterian leaders chose to retain their seats in the House, thinking so to keep the control of the army in their hands. But by the new-modelling of the army, instead of the riff-raff which had been pressed into the service at first, it was made to consist almost wholly of men who had (as Cromwell said) " a mind to the work," small householders and yeomen, whom the Parliament found, too late, it could not control.

³ That is, letting your mouths water.

And all your sacrilegious ventures
 Laid out on tickets and debentures :
 Your envy to be sprinkled down,
 By under-churches in the town ;¹ 1210
 And no course us'd to stop their mouths,
 Nor th' Independents' spreading growths :
 All which consider'd, 'tis most true
 None bring him in so much as you,
 Who have prevail'd beyond their plots,² 1215
 Their midnight juntos, and seal'd knots,
 That thrive more by your zealous piques,
 Than all their own rash politics.
 And this way you may claim a share
 In carrying, as you brag, th' affair, 1220
 Else frogs and toads, that croak'd the Jews
 From Pharaoh and his brick-kilns loose,
 And flies and mange, that set them free
 From task-masters and slavery,
 Were likelier to do the feat, 1225
 In any indiff'rent man's conceit :
 For who e'er heard of Restoration,
 Until your Thorough Reformation ?³
 That is, the king's and church's lands
 Were sequester'd int' other hands : 1230
 For only then, and not before,
 Your eyes were open'd to restore ;
 And when the work was carrying on,
 Who cross'd it, but yourselves alone ?
 As by a world of hints appears, 1235
 All plain, and extant, as your ears.⁴
 But first, o' th' first : The Isle of Wight
 Will rise up, if you shou'd deny 't ;

¹ By the Independents, whose popularity was much greater with the people than that of the Presbyterians.

² The plots of the royalists are here meant.

³ The Independent here charges the Presbyterians with having no design of restoring the king, notwithstanding the merit they made of such intentions after the Restoration, until they were turned out of all profit by sale of the crown and church lands ; and that it was not their loyalty, but their disappointment and resentment against the Independents, that made them think of treating with the king.

⁴ In ridicule of the Presbyterians, many of whom, according to Dryden and others, had lost their ears in the pillory.

Where Henderson and th' other masses,¹
 Were sent to cap texts, and put cases : 1240
 To pass for deep and learned scholars,
 Altho' but paltry Ob and Sollers :²
 As if th' unseasonable fools
 Had been a coursing in the schools.³
 Until they 'd prov'd the devil author 1245
 O' th' Covenant, and the Cause his daughter ;
 For when they charg'd him with the guilt
 Of all the blood that had been spilt,
 They did not mean he wrought th' effusion
 In person, like Sir Pride, or Hughson,⁴ 1250
 But only those who first begun
 The quarrel were by him set on ;
 And who could those be but the saints,
 Those reformation termagants ?
 But ere this pass'd, the wise debate 1255
 Spent so much time it grew too late ;⁵

¹ That is, the other divines. Ministers in those days were called masters, as they are at the 854th line of this canto. One of this order would have been styled, not the reverend, but master, or master doetor such an one ; and sometimes, for brevity's sake, and familiarly, mas, the plural of which, our poet makes masses. See Ben Jonson, and Spectator, No. 147. Butler is here guilty of anachronism ; for the treaty at the Isle of Wight was two years after the death of Henderson. The divines employed there, were Marshal, Vines, Caryl, Seaman, Jenkyns, and Shurston. Henderson was present at the Uxbridge treaty, and disputed with the king at Newcastle when he was in the Scottish army ; soon after which he died, as some said, of grief, because he could not convince the king, but, as others said, of remorse, for having opposed him.

² That is, although only contemptible dabblers in school logic. So in Burton's Melancholy, "A pack of Obs and Sollers." The polemic divines of that age and stamp filled the margins both of their tracts and sermons with the words Ob and Sol ; the one standing for objection, the other for solution.

³ *Coursing* is a term used in the university of Oxford for some exercises preparatory to a master's degree.

⁴ Pride was said to have been a drayman, and to have been knighted by Cromwell with a stick, whence in derision he is called Sir Pride. Hughson, or Hewson, was at first a shoemaker or a cobbler, but afterwards one of Oliver's Upper House.

⁵ The negotiation at the Isle of Wight was protracted in order to give Cromwell time to return from Scotland, by which artifice the settlement of the kingdom was effectually frustrated.

For Oliver had gotten ground,
 T' enclose him with his warriors round;
 Had brought his providence about,
 And turn'd th' untimely¹ sophists out. 1260
 Nor had the Uxbridge bus'ness less
 Of nonsense in 't, or sottishness;
 When from a scoundrel holder-forth,
 The scum, as well as son o' th' earth,
 Your mighty senators took law, 1265
 At his command were forc'd t' withdraw,
 And sacrifice the peace o' th' nation
 To doctrine, use, and application.
 So when the Scots, your constant cronies,
 Th' espousers of your cause and monies,³ 1270
 Who had so often, in your aid,
 So many ways been soundly paid,
 Came in at last for better ends,
 To prove themselves your trusty friends,
 You basely left them, and the church 1275
 They 'd train'd you up to, in the lurch,
 And suffer'd your own tribe of Christians
 To fall before, as true Philistines.⁴
 This shows what utensils you 've been,
 To bring the king's concernments in; 1280
 Which is so far from being true,
 That none but he can bring in you;

¹ Untimely here means unseasonable.

² Christopher Love, a violent Presbyterian, who preached a sermon at Uxbridge during the treaty held there, introducing many reflections upon his Majesty's person and government, and stirring up the people against the king's commissioners. He was afterwards executed (in 1651) for treason, by means of Cromwell and the Independents.

³ The Scots, in their first expedition, 1640, had £300,000 given them for brotherly assistance, besides a contribution of £850 a day from the northern counties. In their second expedition, 1643, besides much free quarter, they had £19,700 monthly, and received £72,972 in one year by customs on coals. The Parliament agreed to give them £400,000 on the surrender of the king.—Dugdale.

⁴ The Scots made a third expedition into England for the rescue of the king, in 1648, under the Duke of Hamilton. They entered a fourth time under Charles II., expecting the Presbyterians, their own brethren, to support them. But the latter joined Cromwell and the Independents; thus occasioning the portion of the true church to fall before the Independent army, whom they reckoned no better than Philistines.

And if he take you into trust,
 Will find you most exactly just,
 Such as will punctually repay 1285
 With double int'rest, and betray.
 Not that I think those pantomimes,
 Who vary action with the times,
 Are less ingenious in their art,
 Than those who dully act one part ; 1290
 Or those who turn from side to side,
 More guilty than the wind and tide.
 All countries are a wise man's home,
 And so are governments to some.
 Who change them for the same intrigues 1295
 That statesmen use in breaking leagues ;
 While others in old faiths and troths
 Look odd, as out-of-fashion'd clothes,
 And nastier in an old opinion,
 Than those who never shift their linen. 1300
 For true and faithful's sure to lose,
 Which way soever the game goes ;
 And whether parties lose or win,
 Is always nick'd, or else hedg'd in :¹
 While pow'r usurp'd, like stol'n delight, 1305
 Is more bewitching than the right :
 And when the times begin to alter,
 None rise so high as from the halter.
 And so we may, if we 've but sense
 To use the necessary means, 1310
 And not your usual stratagems
 On one another, lights, and dreams :
 To stand on terms as positive,
 As if we did not take, but give :
 Set up the Covenant on crutches, 1315
 'Gainst those who have us in their clutches,
 And dream of pulling churches down,
 Before we 're sure to prop our own :
 Your constant method of proceeding,
 Without the carnal means of heeding, 1320

¹ *Nick* is a winning throw. *Hedge* is to protect by a counteracting bet or set-off; a familiar betting term on the turf.

Who, 'twixt your inward sense and outward,
 Are worse, than if ye 'd none, accoutred.
 I grant all courses are in vain,
 Unless we can get in again ;¹
 The only way that's left us now : 1325
 But all the difficulty's, how ?
 'Tis true we 've money, th' only power
 That all mankind falls down before ;
 Money that, like the swords of kings,
 Is the last reason of all things ;² 1330
 And therefore need not doubt our play
 Has all advantages that way ;
 As long as men have faith to sell,
 And meet with those that can pay well ;
 Whose half-starv'd pride and avarice, 1335
 One church and state will not suffice
 T' expose to sale ;³ besides the wages⁴
 Of storing plagues to after-ages.
 Nor is our money less our own,
 Than 'twas before we laid it down ; 1340
 For 'twill return, and turn t' account,
 If we are brought in play upon 't,
 Or but by casting knaves, get in,
 What pow'r can hinder us to win ?
 We know the arts we us'd before, 1345
 In peace and war, and something more.

When General Monk restored the excluded members, the Rump, perceiving they could not carry things their own way, and rule as they had done, quitted the House.

² Diodorus Siculus relates, that when the height of the walls of Amphipolis was pointed out to Philip, as rendering the town impregnable, he observed, they were not so high but that money could be thrown over them. Addison (in Spectator 239) says : "ready money is a way of reasoning which seldom fails."

³ There is a list of above a hundred of the principal actors in this rebellion, among whom the plunder of the church, crown, and kingdom was divided : to some five, ten, and even twenty thousand pounds ; to others, lands and offices of hundreds or thousands a year. At the end of the list, the author says, it was computed that they had shared among themselves near twenty millions.

⁴ They allowed, by their own order, four pounds a week to each member of Parliament ; members of the assembly of divines were each allowed four shillings a day.

And by th' unfortunate events,
 Can mend our next experiments :
 For when we 're taken into trust,
 How easy are the wisest chous'd, 1350
 Who see but th' outsides of our feats,
 And not their secret springs and weights ;
 And while they 're busy, at their ease,
 Can carry what designs we please ?
 How easy is 't to serve for Agents, 1355
 To prosecute our old Engagements ?
 To keep the Good Old Cause on foot,
 And present pow'r from taking root ;¹
 Inflame them both with false alarms
 Of plots, and parties taking arms ; 1360
 To keep the nation's wounds too wide
 From healing up of side to side ;
 Profess the passionat'st Concerns
 For both their interests by turns,
 The only way t' improve our own, 1365
 By dealing faithfully with none ;
 As bowls run true, by being made
 On² purpose false, and to be sway'd,
 For if we should be true to either,
 'Twould turn us out of both together ; 1370
 And therefore have no other means
 To stand upon our own defence,
 But keeping up our ancient party
 In vigour, confident and hearty :
 To reconcile our late dissenters, 1375
 Our brethren, though by other venters ;
 Unite them, and their different maggots,
 As long and short sticks are in faggots,³
 And make them join again as close,
 As when they first began t' espouse ; 1380

¹ General Monk and his party, or the Committee of Safety : for we must understand the scene to be laid at the time when Monk bore the sway, or, as will appear by and by, at the roasting of the rumps, when Monk and the city of London united against the Rump Parliament.

² All the early editions have "of purpose."

³ See *Æsop's Fables*, 171. Swift told this fable after the ancients, with exquisite humour, to reconcile Queen Anne's ministers.

Erect them into separate
 New Jewish tribes in church and state :¹
 To join in marriage and commerce,²
 And only 'mong themselves converse,
 And all that are not of their mind, 1385
 Make enemies to all mankind :³
 Take all religions in, and stickle
 From conclave down to conventicle ;⁴
 Agreeing still or disagreeing,
 According to the light in being, 1390
 Sometimes for liberty of conscience,
 And spiritual misrule in one sense ;
 But in another quite contrary,
 As dispensations chance to vary ;
 And stand for, as the times will bear it, 1395
 All contradictions of the spirit :
 Protect their emissar', empower'd
 To preach sedition, and the word ;
 And when they 're hamper'd by the laws,
 Release the lab'ers for the cause, 1400
 And turn the persecution back
 On those that made the first attack,
 To keep them equally in awe
 From breaking or maintaining law :
 And when they have their fits too soon, 1405
 Before the full-tides of the moon,
 Put off their zeal t' a fitter season
 For sowing faction in and treason ;
 And keep them hooded, and their churches,
 Like hawks, from bating on their perches ;⁵ 1410
 That when the blessed time shall come
 Of quitting Babylon and Rome,

¹ The Jews were not allowed to intermarry or mix familiarly with the nations around them.

² The accent is here laid upon the last syllable of commerce.

³ This was the title given by the Jacobins of France to our William Pitt, whom they suspected of traversing their revolutionary schemes.

⁴ That is, from the conclave of cardinals, or papists, down to the meeting house of nonconformists.

⁵ From being too forward, or ready to take flight

They may be ready to restore
 Their own Fifth Monarchy once more.¹
 Meanwhile be better arm'd to fence 1415
 Against Revolts of Providence,²
 By watching narrowly, and snapping
 All blind sides of it, as they happen :
 For if success could make us saints,
 Our ruin turn'd us miscreants ;³ 1420
 A scandal that would fall too hard
 Upon a Few, and unprepar'd.
 These are the courses we must run,
 Spite of our hearts, or be undone,
 And not to stand on terms and freaks, 1425
 Before we have secur'd our necks.
 But do our work as out of sight,
 As stars by day, and suns by night ;
 All licence of the people own,
 In opposition to the crown ; 1430
 And for the crown as fiercely side,
 The head and body to divide.
 The end of all we first design'd,
 And all that yet remains behind,
 Be sure to spare no public rapine, 1435
 On all emergencies that happen ;
 For 'tis as easy to supplant
 Authority, as men in want ;
 As some of us, in trusts, have made
 The one hand with the other trade ; 1440

¹ In addition to the four great monarchies which have appeared in the world, some of the enthusiasts thought that Christ was to reign temporally upon earth, and to establish a fifth monarchy. See Butler's "Character of a Fifth Monarchy man." The Book of Daniel speaks of four great earthly monarchies, and of one other, not earthly, to succeed them ; hence the name "Fifth Monarchy." The Oxford divines have in recent days adopted this classification. Dr Lightfoot took a different view of the fifth monarchy, and declares in his sermon, preached Nov. 5th, 1669, that it means "the kingdom of the devil."

² The sectaries of those days talked more familiarly to Almighty God than they dared to do to a superior officer : they remonstrated with him, made him author of all their wicked machinations, and, if their projects failed, they said that Providence had revolted from them. See note at page 65.

³ Turn'd here signifies "would turn."

Gain'd vastly by their joint endeavour,
 The right a thief, the left receiver ;
 And what the one, by tricks, forestall'd,
 The other, by as sly, retail'd.
 For gain has wonderful effects 1445
 T' improve the factory of sects ;
 The Rule of Faith in all professions,
 And great Diana of th' Ephesians ;¹
 Whence turning of religion's made
 The means to turn and wind a trade. 1450
 And though some change it for the worse,
 They put themselves into a course,
 And draw in store of customers,
 To thrive the better in commerce :
 For all religions flock together, 1455
 Like tame and wild fowl of a feather :
 To nab the itches of their sects,
 As jades do one another's necks.
 Hence 'tis hypocrisy as well
 Will serve t' improve a church, as zeal ; 1460
 As persecution or promotion,
 Do equally advance devotion.
 Let bus'ness, like ill watches, go
 Sometime too fast, sometime too slow ;
 For things in order are put out 1465
 So easy, ease itself will do 't :
 But when the feat's design'd and meant,
 What miracle can bar th' event ?
 For 'tis more easy to betray,
 Than ruin any other way. 1470
 All possible occasions start,
 The weightiest matters to divert ;
 Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,
 And lay perpetual trains to wrangle.²
 But in affairs of less import, 1475
 That neither do us good nor hurt,
 And they receive as little by,
 Out-fawn as much, and out-comply,

¹ Acts xix. 28.

² Exactly the advice given in Aristophanes, Equites, v. 214.

And seem as scrupulously just,
 To bait our hooks for greater trust. 1480
 But still be careful to cry down
 All public actions, tho' our own ;
 The least miscarriage aggravate,
 And charge it all upon the state :
 Express the horrid'st detestation, 1485
 And pity the distracted nation ;
 Tell stories scandalous and false,
 I' th' proper language of cabals,
 Where all a subtle statesman says,
 Is half in words, and half in face ; 1490
 As Spaniards talk in dialogues
 Of heads and shoulders, nods and shrugs :
 Entrust it under solemn vows
 Of mum, and silence, and the rose,¹
 To be retail'd again in whispers, 1495
 For th' easy credulous to disperse.
 Thus far the statesman—When a shout,
 Heard at a distance, put him out ;
 And strait another, all aghast,
 Rush'd in with equal fear and haste, 1500
 Who star'd about, as pale as death,
 And, for a while, as out of breath,
 Till, having gather'd up his wits,
 He thus began his tale by fits :²
 That beastly rabble—that came down 1505
 From all the garrets—in the town,
 And stalls, and shop-boards—in vast swarms,
 With new-chalk'd bills—and rusty arms,

¹ When anything was said in confidence, the speaker in conclusion generally used the word *mum*, or silence. *Mum*, in the first sense, means mask, whence in its secondary meaning comes secrecy or concealment. *Sub rosá* (under the rose) had the same meaning ; whence, in rooms designed for convivial meetings, it was customary to place a rose above the table, to signify that anything there spoken ought never to be divulged. A rose was frequently painted on ceilings, both in England and Germany. See Brand's *Antiquities* (Bohn's Edit.), vol. ii. p. 345, *et seq.*

² This was Sir Martin Noel, who, while the Cabal was sitting, brought the unpalatable news that the Rump Parliament was dismissed, the secluded members admitted into the House by Monk, and that the mob of London testified their approval of the measure by burning the Rump in effigy.

To cry the Cause—up, heretofore,
 And bawl the bishops—out of door ; 1510
 Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,
 To roast—and broil us on the coals,
 And all the grandees—of our members
 Are carbonading—on the embers ;
 Knights, citizens, and burgesses— 1515
 Held forth by Rumps—of pigs and geese,
 That serve for characters—and badges
 To represent their personages.
 Each bonfire is a funeral pile,
 In which they roast, and scorch, and broil, 1520
 And ev'ry representative
 Have vow'd to roast—and broil alive :
 And 'tis a miracle we are not
 Already sacrific'd incarnate ;
 For while we wrangle here, and jar, 1525
 We 're grillied all at Temple-Bar ;
 Some, on the sign-post of an ale-house,
 Hang in effigy, on the gallows,
 Made up of rags to personate
 Respective officers of state ; 1530
 That, henceforth, they may stand reputed,
 Proscrib'd in law, and executed,
 And, while the work is carrying on,
 Be ready listed under Dun,
 That worthy patriot, once the bellows, 1535
 And tinder-box of all his fellows ;¹

¹ Dun was at that time the common hangman, and succeeding executioners went by his name, till eclipsed by Jack Ketch. But the character here delineated was certainly intended for Sir Arthur Hazlerig, knight of the shire, in the Long Parliament, for the county of Leicester, and one of the five members of the House of Commons whom the king attempted to seize in the House. He brought in the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford, and the bill against Episcopacy ; though the latter was delivered by Sir Edward Deering at his procurement. He also brought in the bill for the Militia. He was one of the Rump ; and a little before this time, when the Committee of Safety had been set up, and the Rump excluded, he had seized Portsmouth for their use. It is probable that Butler might call Sir Arthur by the hangman's name, for his forwardness and zeal in Parliament in bringing the royalists and the king himself to execution. Before Monk's intentions were known, Hazlerig, in a conversation with him, said, " I see which way things are going ; monarchy will be restored ; and then I know

The activ'st member of the five,
 As well as the most primitive ;
 Who, for his faithful service then,
 Is chosen for a fifth agen : 1540
 For since the state has made a quint
 Of generals, he's listed in't.¹
 This worthy, as the world will say,
 Is paid in specie, his own way ;
 For, moulded to the life, in clouts, 1545
 They've pick'd from dunghills hereabouts,
 He's mounted on a hazel bavin²
 A cropp'd malignant baker gave 'em ;³
 And to the largest bonfire riding,
 They've roasted Cook already,⁴ and Pride in ;⁵ 1550
 On whom, in equipage and state,
 His scare-crow fellow-members wait,
 And march in order, two and two,
 As at thanksgivings th' us'd to do ;
 Each in a tatter'd talisman, 1555
 Like vermin in effigy slain.
 But, what's more dreadful than the rest,
 Those Rumps are but the Tail o' th' beast,

what will become of me." "Pooh!" replied Monk, "I will secure you for two-pence." In no long time after, when the secret was out, Hazlerig sent Monk a letter, with two-pence enclosed. See *Clarendon's State Papers*, vol. iii. Sir Arthur enlisted many soldiers, and had a regiment called his Lobsters.

¹ *Quint*, that is, a quorum of five. After the death of Cromwell, and the deposition of Richard, the government of the army was put into the hands of seven commissioners, of whom Hazlerig was one. And in 1659, Monk, Hazlerig, Walton, Morley, and Alured, were appointed commissioners to govern the army.

² A hazel faggot, such as bakers heat their ovens with ; a joke on the name Hazlerig.

³ Pillory, and cropping the ears, was a punishment inflicted on bakers who made bad bread or gave short weight. Malignants was the name applied to the royalists.

⁴ Cook was solicitor at the king's trial, and drew up the charges against him. Clarendon allows him to have been a man of abilities. His defence at his own trial was bold and manly, claiming exemption from responsibility on professional grounds ; stating that he had merely acted as a lawyer, taken a fee, and pleaded from a brief. He was hanged at Tyburn. Pride and his "Purge" have been spoken of before.

⁵ In the early editions, "Pride-m."

Set up by popish engineers,
 As by the crackers plainly appears ; 1530
 For none but Jesuits have a mission
 To preach the faith with ammunition,
 And propagate the church with powder ;
 Their founder was a blown-up soldier.¹
 Those spiritual pioneers o' th' whore's, 1565
 That have the charge of all her stores ;
 Since first they fail'd in their designs,²
 To take in heav'n by springing mines,
 And, with unanswerable barrels
 Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels, 1570
 Now take a course more practicable,
 By laying trains to fire the rabble,
 And blow us up, in th' open streets,
 Disguis'd in Rumps, like Sambenites,³
 More like to ruin and confound, 1575
 Than all their doctrines under-ground.
 Nor have they chosen Rumps amiss,⁴
 For symbols of state-mysteries ;
 Tho' some suppose, 'twas but to show
 How much they scorn'd the saints, the Few, 1580
 Who, 'cause they're wasted to the stumps,
 Are represented best by Rumps.⁵
 But Jesuits have deeper reaches
 In all their politic far-fetches ;
 And from the Coptic priest, Kircherus,⁶ 1585
 Found out this mystic way to jeer us :⁷

¹ Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesuits, was bred a soldier, and wounded at the siege of Pampeluna by the French, in 1521. See note on line 606, above.

² Alluding to the Gunpowder Plot, attributed to the Jesuits, the defeat of which is celebrated on Nov. 5, to this day ; but the prayers and thanksgiving have just been abolished, and expunged from the liturgy, by Royal ordinance.

³ Persons wearing the *sambenito* : a straight yellow coat without sleeves, having the picture of the devil painted upon it in black, wherein the officers of the Inquisition used to disguise and parade heretics after their condemnation.

⁴ See A speech made at the Rota. Remains, vol. i. page 320.

⁵ They were called the Rump Parliament, as being the end of a body.

⁶ The early editions spell this name thus: Kirkerus.

⁷ Athanasius Kircher, a Jesuit, wrote many books on the antiquities of

For, as the Egyptians us'd by bees
 T' express their antique Ptolemies,
 And by their stings, the swords they wore,¹
 Held forth authority and pow'r; 1590
 Because these subtle animals
 Bear all their int'rests in their tails;
 And when they're once impair'd in that,
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state:
 They thought all governments were best 1595
 By hieroglyphic Rumps exprest.
 For as in bodies natural,
 The Rump's the fundament of all;
 So, in a commonwealth or realm,
 The government is called the helm; 1600
 With which, like vessels under sail,
 They're turn'd and winded by the tail.
 The tail, which birds and fishes steer
 Their courses with, thro' sea and air;
 To whom the rudder of the rump is 1605
 The same thing with the stern and compass,
 This shows, how perfectly the rump
 And commonwealth in nature jump.
 For as a fly that goes to bed,
 Rests with his tail above his head,² 1610
 So, in this mongrel state of ours,
 The rabble are the supreme powers,
 That hors'd us on their backs, to show us
 A jadish trick at last, and throw us.
 The learned Rabbins of the Jews 1615
 Write, there's a bone, which they call luez,³

Egypt; one of them is called *Œdipus Egyptiacus*, for which he says he studied the Egyptian mysteries twenty years. The Copts were the primitive Christians of Egypt.

¹ The Egyptians anciently represented their kings under the emblem of a bee, which has the power of dispensing benefits and inflicting punishments by its honey and its sting; though the poet dwells most on the energy which it bears in its tail: so the citizens of London significantly represented this fag-end of a Parliament by the rumps, or tail-parts, of sheep and other animals. Some late editions read, ancient Ptolemies. See Butler's Remains, "A speech in the Rota."

² Alluding to the position flies take up, on walls.

³ Eben Ezra, and Manassch Ben Israel, taught that there is a bone in the rump of a man (that is, in the lower end of the back-bone) of the size

I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,
 No force in nature can do hurt to ;
 And therefore, at the last great day,
 All th' other members shall, they say, 1620
 Spring out of this, as from a seed
 All sorts of vegetals proceed ;
 From whence the learned sons of art
Os sacrum justly style that part :¹
 Then what can better represent, 1625
 Than this rump-bone, the Parliament ?
 That after sev'ral rude ejections,
 And as prodigious resurrections,
 With new reversion of nine lives,
 Starts up, and, like a cat, revives ?² 1630

and shape of half a pea ; from which, as from an incorruptible seed, the whole man would be perfectly formed at the resurrection. Remains, vol. i. p. 320. The rabbins found their wild conjectures on Genesis xlviii. 2, 3. See Agrippa de occultâ philosophiâ, l. i. c. 20. Buxtorf, in his Chaldean Dictionary, under the word Luz, says, it is the name of a human bone, which the Jews look upon as incorruptible. In a book called Bre-shith Rabboth, sect. 28, it is asserted that Adrian, reducing the bones to powder, asked the rabbin Jehoshuang (Jesuah the son of Hanniah) how God would raise man at the day of judgment: from the Luz, replied the rabbin: how do you know it? says Adrian: bring me one, and you shall see, says Jehoshuang: one was produced, and all methods, by fire, pounding, and other methods tried, but in vain. See Manasseh Ben-Israël de Resurrectione, lib. ii. cap. 15. See also Butler's Remains, "Speech in the Rota."

¹ The lowest of the vertebræ, or rather the bone below the vertebræ, is so called; not for the reason wittily assigned by our poet, but because it is much bigger than any of the vertebræ.

² The Rump, properly so called, began at Pride's Purge, a little before the king's death; and had the supreme authority for about five years; being turned out on April 23, 1653, by Cromwell. After his death, and the deposition of his son Richard, the Rump Parliament was restored by Lambert and other officers of the army, on May 7, 1659, in number about forty-two, the excluded members not being permitted to sit. On October 13, in the same year, they were dismissed by those who had summoned them, and the officers chose a Committee of Safety of twenty-three persons; who administered the affairs of government till December 20, when, finding themselves generally hated and slighted, and wanting money to pay the soldiers, Fleetwood and others desired the Rump to return to the exercise of their trust. At length, by means of General Monk, above eighty of the old secluded members resumed their places in the House; upon which most of the Rumpers quitted it. Butler, in his Genuine Remains, vol. i. p. 320, says, "Nothing can bear a nearer resemblance to the Luz, or rump-bone of the ancient rabbins, than the present Parliament, that has been so many

But now, alas ! they're all expir'd,
 And th' House, as well as members, fir'd,
 Consum'd in kennels by the rout,
 With which they other fires put out ;
 Condemn'd t' ungoverning distress, 1635
 And paltry private wretchedness ;
 Worse than the devil to privation,
 Beyond all hopes of restoration ;
 And parted, like the body and soul,
 From all dominion and control. 1640
 We, who could lately, with a look,
 Enact, establish, or revoke,
 Whose arbitrary nods gave law,
 And frowns kept multitudes in awe ;
 Before the bluster of whose huff, 1645
 All hats, as in a storm, flew off ;
 Ador'd and bow'd to by the great,
 Down to the footman and valet ;
 Had more bent knees than chapel mats,
 And prayers than the crowns of hats, 1650
 Shall now be scorn'd as wretchedly :
 For ruin's just as low as high ;
 Which might be suffer'd, were it all
 The horror that attends our fall :
 For some of us have scores more large 1655
 Than heads and quarters can discharge ;¹
 And others, who, by restless scraping,
 With public frauds, and private rapine,
 Have mighty heaps of wealth amass'd,
 Would gladly lay down all at last ; 1660
 And, to be but undone, entail
 Their vessels on perpetual jail,²

years dead, and rotten under ground, to any man's thinking, that the ghosts of some of the members thereof have transmigrated into other parliaments, and some into those parts from whence there is no redemption, should, nevertheless, at two several and respective resurrections start up, like the dragon's teeth that were sown, into living, natural, and carnal members. And hence it is, I suppose, that the physicians and anatomists call this bone *os sacrum*, or the holy bone."

¹ Alluding to the common punishments of high treason ; noblemen being beheaded, and others hung, drawn, and quartered.

² This commutation was accepted by some of the Regicides at the Restoration.

And bless the devil to let them farms
Of forfeit souls, on no worse terms.

This said, a near and louder shout 1665
Put all th' assembly to the rout,¹
Who now began t' out-run their fear,
As horses do, from those they bear ;
But crowded on with so much haste,
Until they'd block'd the passage fast, 1670
And barricado'd it with haunches
Of outward men, and bulks and paunches,
That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,
And rather save a crippled piece
Of all their crush'd and broken members, 1675
Than have them grill'd on the embers ;
Still pressing on with heavy packs
Of one another on their backs,
The van-guard could no longer bear
The charges of the forlorn rear, 1680
But, borne down headlong by the rout,
Were trampled sorely under foot ;
Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,
As th' horrid cook'ry of the rabble :²
And fear, that keeps all feeling out, 1685
As lesser pains are by the gout,

¹ When Sir Martin came to the Cabal, he left the rabble at Temple-bar, but by the time he had concluded his discourse, they had reached Whitehall. This alarmed our Caballers and they made a precipitate retreat, apprehensive lest they should be hanged in reality, as they had been in effigy.

² The following very graphic account of this popular burning and roasting of the Rumps is given by Pepys, who happened to be going through the streets at the time. "In Cheapside there were a great many bonfires, and Bow-bells, and all the bells in all the churches, as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St Dunstan's and Temple-bar, and at Strand Bridge [a bridge which spanned the Strand close to the east end of Catherine-street, where a small stream ran down from the fields into the Thames near Somerset House] I could tell at one time thirty-one fires; in King-street seven or eight; and all along, burning, and roasting, and drinking of Rumps; there being rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down. The butchers at the maypoles in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate-hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied to it, and another basting of it. Indeed, it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end

Reliev'd 'em with a fresh supply
Of rallied force, enough to fly,
And beat a Tuscan running horse,
Whose jockey-rider is all spurs.¹

1690

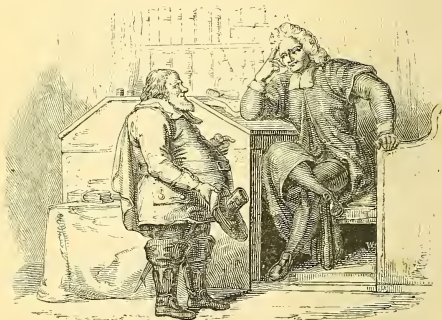
of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the other side." See Pepys' Memoirs, vol. i. p. 22 (Bohn's edition).

¹ Races of this kind are practised both on the Corso at Rome, and at Florence. At Rome, in the carnival, a number of horses are trained on purpose for this diversion. They are drawn up a-breast in the Piazza del Popolo; and certain balls, with little sharp spikes, are hung along their rumps, which serve to spur them on as soon as they begin to run.





PART III. CANTO III.




ARGUMENT.

The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night :
He plods to turn his amorous suit,
T' a plea in law, and prosecute :
Repairs to counsel, to advise
'Bout managing the enterprise ;
But first resolves to try by letter,
And one¹ more fair address, to get her.

¹ The early editions read, "once" more.

PART III. CANTO III.


WHO would believe what strange bugbears
 Mankind creates itself, of fears,
 That spring, like fern, that insect weed,
 Equivocally, without seed,¹
 And have no possible foundation, 5
 But merely in th' imagination?
 And yet can do more dreadful feats
 Than hags, with all their imps and teats;²
 Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,
 Than all their nurseries of elves. 10
 For fear does things so like a witch,
 'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which;
 Sets up communities of senses,
 To chop and change intelligences;
 As Rosicrucian virtuosos 15
 Can see with ears, and hear with noses;³

¹ He calls it an insect weed, on the supposition of its being bred, as many insects were thought to be, by what was called equivocal, or spontaneous, generation. Ferns have seeds so small as to be almost invisible to the naked eye; whence the ancients held them to be without seed. Our ancestors, believing that the seed of this plant was invisible, reported that those who possessed the secret of wearing it about them would become likewise invisible. Shakspeare registers this notion, no doubt banteringly, in his Henry IV. Part I. *Gadshill*,—We steal as in a castle, coek-sure; we have the *receipt of fern-seed*, we walk invisible.

² Alluding to common superstitions about witches.

³ Grey calls this a banter on the Marquis of Worcester's century of inventions; amongst which is one entitled, "how to write by the smell, the touch, or the taste, as distinctly and unconfusedly, yea, as readily, as by the sight." Butler, in his Remains, says: "This is an art to teach men to see with their ears, and hear with their eyes and noses, as it has been found true by experience and demonstration, if we may believe the history of the Spaniard, that could see words, and swallow music by holding the peg of a fiddle between his teeth; or him that could sing his part backward at first sight,

And when they neither see nor hear,
 Have more than both supplied by fear,
 That makes them in the dark see visions,
 And hag themselves with apparitions ; 20
 And when their eyes discover least,
 Discern the subtlest object best ;
 Do things not contrary alone
 To th' course of nature, but its own ;
 The courage of the bravest daunt, 25
 And turn poltroons as valiant :
 For men as resolute appear
 With too much, as too little fear ;
 And, when they're out of hopes of flying,
 Will run away from death, by dying ; 30
 Or turn again to stand it out,
 And those they fled, like lions, rout.
 This Hudibras had prov'd too true,
 Who, by the furies, left perdue,
 And haunted with detachments, sent 35
 From Marshal Legion's regiment,¹
 Was by a fiend, as counterfeit,
 Reliev'd and rescu'd with a cheat,
 When nothing but himself, and fear,
 Was both the imps and conjurer ;² 40
 As by the rules o' th' virtuosi,
 It follows in due form of poesie.
 Disguis'd in all the masks of night,
 We left our champion on his flight,

which those that were near him might hear with their noses." See Remains, vol. ii. p. 245. Nash thinks that Butler probably meant to ridicule Sir Kenelm Digby, who in his "Treatise on the Nature of Bodies," tells the story of a Spanish nobleman "who could hear by his eyes and see words."

¹ Grey supposes that Stephen Marshal, a famous Presbyterian preacher, who dealt largely in hell and damnation, and was called the Geneva Bull, is here intended. But Nash thinks that the word marshal is a title of office and rank, not the name of any particular man, and that legion is used for the name of a leader, or captain of a company of devils. The meaning is, that the Knight was haunted by a crew of devils, such as that in the Gospel, which obtained the name of Legion, because they were many.

² The poet, with great wit, rallies the imaginary and groundless fears which possess some persons : and from whence proceed the tales of ghosts and apparitions, imps, conjurers, and witches.

At blindman's buff to grope his way, 45
 In equal fear of night and day ;
 Who took his dark and desp'rate course,
 He knew no better than his horse ;
 And by an unknown devil led,¹
 He knew as little whither, fled. 50
 He never was in greater need,
 Nor less capacity of speed ;
 Disabled, both in man and beast,
 To fly and run away, his best ;
 To keep the enemy, and fear, 55
 From equal falling on his rear.
 And though, with kicks and bangs he ply'd,
 The further and the nearer side ;
 As seamen ride with all their force,
 And tug as if they row'd the horse, 60
 And when the hackney sails most swift,
 Believe they lag, or run a-drift ;
 So, tho' he posted e'er so fast,
 His fear was greater than his haste :
 For fear, though fleeter than the wind, 65
 Believes 'tis always left behind.
 But when the morn began t' appear,²
 And shift t' another scene his fear,
 He found his new officious shade,
 That came so timely to his aid, 70
 And forc'd him from the foe t' escape,
 Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape,
 So like in person, garb, and pitch,
 'Twas hard t' interpret which was which.
 For Ralpho had no sooner told 75
 The lady all he had t' unfold,
 But she convey'd³ him out of sight,
 To entertain th' approaching Knight ;

¹ It was Ralpho who, though unknown, conveyed the Knight out of the widow's house.

² We have now arrived at the third day of the notion of the poem. From the opening of these adventures every morning and night has been poetically described.

³ Var. *convoy'd* him, in the editions before 1684.

And while he gave himself diversion,
 T' accommodate his beast and person, 80
 And put his beard into a posture
 At best advantage to accost her,
 She order'd th' anti-masquerade,
 For his reception, aforesaid :
 But, when the ceremony was done, 85
 The lights put out, the furies gone,
 And Hudibras, among the rest,
 Convey'd away, as Ralpho guess'd,¹
 The wretched caitiff, all alone,
 As he believ'd, began to moan, 90
 And tell his story to himself ;
 The Knight mistook him for an elf ;
 And did so still, till he began
 To scruple at Ralph's outward man,
 And thought, because they oft agreed 95
 T' appear in one another's stead,
 And act the saint's and devil's part,
 With undistinguishable art,
 They might have done so now, perhaps,
 And put on one another's shapes ; 100
 And therefore, to resolve the doubt,
 He star'd upon him, and cry'd out,
 What art ? my Squire, or that bold sprite
 That took his place and shape to-night ?²
 Some busy independent Pug, 105
 Retainer to his synagogue ?
 Alas ! quoth he, I'm none of those
 Your bosom friends, as you suppose,
 But Ralph himself, your trusty Squire,
 Who 's dragg'd your donship out o' the mire,³ 110.

¹ It is here said that Ralpho guessed his master was conveyed away, and that he believed himself to be all alone when he made his lamentation : but this must be a slip of memory in the poet, for some parts of his lamentations are not at all applicable to his own case, but plainly designed for his master's hearing : such are ver. 1371, &c., of Part iii. c. i. In satirical poetry absolute consistency is not indispensable.

² Sir Hudibras, we may remember, though he had no objection to consult with evil spirits, did not speak of them with much respect.

³ The word Don is often used to signify a knight. In the old editions previous to 1710 it is spelt *dun* ; the reading here is *Dunship*.

And from th' enchantments of a widow,
 Who 'd turn'd you int' a beast, have freed you ;
 And, tho' a prisoner of war,
 Have brought you safe, where now you are ;
 Which you wou'd gratefully repay, 115
 Your constant Presbyterian way.
 That's stranger, quoth the Knight, and stranger ;
 Who gave thee notice of my danger ?

Quoth he, Th' infernal conjurer
 Pursu'd, and took me prisoner ; 120
 And, knowing you were hereabout,
 Brought me along to find you out,
 Where I, in hugger-mugger hid,¹
 Have noted all they said or did :
 And, tho' they lay to him the pageant, 125
 I did not see him nor his agent ;
 Who play'd their sorceries out of sight,
 T' avoid a fiercer second fight.

But didst thou see no devils then ?
 Not one, quoth he, but carnal men, 130
 A little worse than fiends in hell,
 And that she-devil Jezebel,
 That laugh'd and tee-he'd with derision
 To see them take your deposition.

What then, quoth Hudibras, was he 135
 That play'd the dev'l to examine me ?

A rallying weaver in the town,
 That did it in a parson's gown,
 Whom all the parish take for gifted,
 But, for my part, I ne'er believ'd it : 140
 In which you told them all your feats,
 Your conscientious frauds and cheats ;
 Deny'd your whipping, and confess'd
 The naked truth of all the rest,
 More plainly than the rev'rend writer 145
 That to our churches veil'd his mitre.²

¹ Meaning privately and without order. Thus Shakspeare, in Hamlet :
 "We've done but greenly in *hugger-mugger* to inter him ; poor Ophelia."

² This character has been applied to several church dignitaries : *Williams*,
 Bishop of Lincoln, afterward Archbishop of York, "the pepper-nosed Caitiff
 that snuffs, puffs, and nuffs ingratitude to Parliament—a jack-a-lent made

All which they took in black and white,
And cudgell'd me to underwrite.

What made thee, when they all were gone,
And none but thou and I alone, 150
To act the devil, and forbear
To rid me of my hellish fear?

Quoth he, I knew your constant rate,
And frame of sp'rit too obstinate,
To be by me prevail'd upon, 155
With any motives of my own;
And therefore strove to counterfeit
The devil awhile, to nick your wit;
The devil, that is your constant crony,
That only can prevail upon ye; 160
Else we might still have been disputing,
And they with weighty drubs confuting.

The Knight, who now began to find
They'd left the enemy behind,
And saw no further harm remain, 165
But feeble weariness and pain,
Perceiv'd, by losing of their way,
They'd gain'd th' advantage of the day,
And, by declining of the road,
They had, by chance, their rear made good; 170
He ventur'd to dismiss his fear,
That parting's wont to rant and tear,
And give the desp'ratest attack
To danger still behind its back:

of a leek and red herring;" *Graham*, Bishop of Orkney, who renounced his Bishoprick to join the Scotch covenanters; *Adair*, Bishop of Kilala, who was deprived of his Bishoprick for speaking in favour of the covenanters; and *Herbert Croft*, the excellent Bishop of Hereford; all of whom had seemed more or less to side with the Dissenters. But Nash points out a coincidence which fixes it on the last-named prelate. It appears that in 1675, three years before the publication of this part of the poem, a pamphlet came out, generally attributed to the Bishop of Hereford, called, *The naked Truth, or State of the Primitive Church*, a title which gives a striking air of probability to the supposition. In this piece the distinction of the three orders of the Church is flatly denied, and endeavoured to be disproved: the surplice, bowing towards the altar, kneeling at the sacrament, and other ceremonies of the Church, are condemned; while most of the pleas for nonconformists are speciously and zealously supported. This pamphlet made a great noise at the time.

For having paus'd to recollect, 175
 And on his past success reflect,
 T' examine and consider why,
 And whence, and how, he came to fly,
 And when no devil had appear'd,
 What else it could be said he fear'd, 180
 It put him in so fierce a rage,
 He once resolv'd to re-engage ;
 Toss'd, like a foot-ball, back again
 With shame, and vengeance, and disdain.
 Quoth he, It was thy cowardice, 185
 That made me from this leaguer rise,
 And when I'd half reduc'd the place,
 To quit it infamously base ;
 Was better cover'd by thy new
 Arriv'd detachment, than I knew ;¹ 190
 To slight my new acquests, and run,
 Victoriously, from battles won ;
 And, reck'ning all I gain'd or lost,
 To sell them cheaper than they cost ;
 To make me put myself to flight, 195
 And, conqu'ring, run away by night ;
 To drag me out, which th' haughty foe
 Durst never have presum'd to do ;
 To mount me in the dark, by force,
 Upon the bare ridge of my horse. 200
 Expos'd in *querpo*² to their rage,
 Without my arms and equipage ;

¹ Here seems a defect in coherency and syntax. The Knight means, that it was dishonourable in him to quit the siege, especially when reinforced by the arrival of the Squire.

² *Querpo* (from the Spanish *cuervo*) signifies a close waistcoat, or jacket, without the customary cloak. Butler, in his MS. Common-place Book, says, all coats of arms were defensive, and worn upon shields ; though the ancient use of them is now given over, and men fight in *querpo*. To fight in *querpo* is synonymous to our old English phrase, *to fight in buff*. See Junii Etymologicon. The term is found in several of our early dramatists, e. g. "Boy, my cloak and rapier ; it fits not a gentleman of my rank to walk the streets in *querpo*." Beaumont and Fletcher, *Love's Cure*, ii. 1.

Your Spanish host is never seen in *cuervo*
 Without his paramentos, cloke, and sword.

Ben Jonson, *New Inn*, II. 5.

Lest, if they ventur'd to pursue,
 I might th' unequal fight renew ;
 And, to preserve thy outward man, 205
 Assum'd my place, and led the van.
 All this, quoth Ralph, I did, 'tis true,
 Not to preserve myself, but you :
 You, who were damn'd to baser drubs
 Than wretches feel in powd'ring tubs,¹ 210
 To mount two-wheel'd carroches, worse
 Than managing a wooden horse ;²
 Dragg'd out thro' straiter holes by th' ears,
 Eras'd, or coup'd for perjurers ;³
 Who, tho' th' attempt had prov'd in vain, 215
 Had had no reason to complain ;
 But, since it prosper'd, 'tis unhandsome
 To blame the hand that paid your ransom,
 And rescu'd your obnoxious bones
 From unavoidable battoons. 220
 The enemy was reinforc'd,
 And we disabled and unhors'd,
 Disarm'd, unqualify'd for fight,
 And no way left but hasty flight,
 Which, tho' as desp'rate in th' attempt, 225
 Has giv'n you freedom to condemn't.
 But were our bones in fit condition
 To reinforce the expedition,
 'Tis now unseasonable and vain,
 To think of falling on again : 230
 No martial project to surprise
 Can ever be attempted twice ;
 Nor cast design serve afterwards,
 As gamesters tear their losing cards.

¹ See note to line 980 of the preceding Canto, page 366.

² Carroche properly signifies a coach, from the Italian *carroccio* ; but in burlesque it is a cart, and here means that in which criminals were carried to execution. At that time a coach invariably had four wheels, and a *charette*, which preceded it, only two. Riding the wooden-horse was a punishment inflicted on soldiers.

³ *Erased*, in Heraldry, means a member torn or separated from the body, so that it looks jagged like the teeth of a saw ; *couped* signifies, on the contrary, cut off clean and smooth. The Knight had incurred the guilt of perjury.

Beside, our bangs of man and beast
 Are fit for nothing but to rest,
 And for a while will not be able
 To rally, and prove serviceable :
 And therefore I, with reason, chose
 This stratagem t' amuse our foes, 240
 To make an hon'rab'le retreat,
 And wave a total sure defeat :
 For those that fly may fight again,
 Which he can never do that's slain.¹

¹ The parallel to these lines is contained in the famous couplet—

“He that fights and runs away,
 May live to fight another day,”

which is so commonly, but falsely, attributed to Butler, that many bets have been lost upon it. The sentiment appears to be as old as Demosthenes, who, being reproached for running away from Philip of Macedon, at the battle of Chæronea, replied, *Ἀγὴρ ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται*. This saying of Demosthenes is mentioned by Jeremy Taylor, who says, “In other cases it is true that Demosthenes said in apology for his own escaping from a lost field—*A man that runs away may fight again.*”—*Great Examples*, 1649. The same idea is found in Scarron, who died in 1660 :

Qui fuit, peut revenir aussi ;
 Qui meurt, il n'en est pas ainsi.

It is also found in the *Satyre Menippée*, published in 1594 :

Souvent celuy qui demeure
 Est cause de son meschef ;
 Celuy qui fuit de bonne heure
 Peut combattre derechef.

Thus rendered in an English version, published in 1595 :

Oft he that doth abide
 Is cause of his own pain ;
 But he that flieth in good tide
 Perhaps may fight again.

In the Latin *Apothegms* compiled by Erasmus, and translated into English by Nicholas Udall, in 1542, occur the following lines, which are obviously a metrical version of the saying of Demosthenes :

That same man that renneth awaie,
 Maie again fight, an other daie.

The Italians are supposed to have borrowed their proverb from the same source : *E meglio che si dici qui fuggi che qui mori*, Better it be said here he ran away than here he died. But our familiar couplet was no doubt derived from the following lines, which were written by Sir John Mennis, in conjunction with James Smith, in the *Musarum Deliciae*, a collection of

Hence timely-running's no mean part 245
 Of conduct, in the martial art,
 By which some glorious feats achieve,
 As citizens by breaking thrive,
 And cannons conquer armies, while
 They seem to draw off and recoil ; 250
 Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest,¹
 To great exploits, as well as safest ;
 That spares th' expense of time and pains,
 And dang'rous beating out of brains ;
 And, in the end, prevails as certain 255
 As those that never trust to fortune ;
 But make their fear do execution
 Beyond the stoutest resolution ;
 As earthquakes kill without a blow,
 And, only trembling, overthrow. 260
 If th' ancients crown'd their bravest men
 That only sav'd a citizen,²
 What victory cou'd e'er be won,
 If ev'ry one would save but one ?
 Or fight endanger'd to be lost, 265
 Where all resolve to save the most ?
 By this means, when a battle's won,
 The war's as far from being done ;
 For those that save themselves and fly,
 Go halves, at least, i' th' victory ; 270
 And sometime, when the loss is small,³
 And danger great, they challenge all ;

miscellaneous poems, published in 1656, and reprinted in *Wit's Recreations*, 2 vols. 12mo, Lond. 1817 :

He that is in battle slain,
 Can never rise to fight again ;
 But he that fights and runs away,
 May live to fight another day.

¹ Some editions read :

'Tis held the gallant'st——

² This was the *corona civica*, or civic crown, which was granted to any soldier who had saved the life of a Roman citizen by slaying an enemy. Though formed of no better materials than oak twigs, it was esteemed more honourable than any other decoration.

³ The early editions have "their loss."

Print new additions to their feasts,
 And emendations in gazettes;¹
 And when, for furious haste to run, 275
 They durst not stay to fire a gun,
 Have done 't with bonfires, and at home
 Made squibs and crackers overcome;
 To set the rabble on a flame,
 And keep their governors from blame, 280
 Disperse the news the pulpit tells,²
 Confirm'd with fireworks and with bells:
 And tho' reduc'd to that extreme,
 They have been forc'd to sing *Te Deum*;³
 Yet, with religious blasphemy, 285
 By flatt'ring heaven with a lie;
 And, for their beating, giving thanks,
 They 've raised recruits, and fill'd their banks;⁴

¹ The gazettes did not come into vogue until Charles the Second's time. The newspapers during the civil war and the commonwealth were called *Mercuries* and *Diurnals*.

² "In their sermons," says Burnet, "and chiefly in their prayers, all that passed in the state was canvassed. Men were as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to God, as they were odious or acceptable to them. At length this humour grew so petulant, that the pulpit was a scene of news and passion."

³ This was the customary psalm of victory, but the Puritans did not approve of it, as being of papistical origin.

⁴ It has been an ancient and very frequent practice for the vanquished party in war to boast of victory, and even to ordain solemn thanksgivings, as means of keeping up the spirits of the people. The Parliament were said often to have had recourse to this artifice, and in the course of the war had thirty-five thanksgiving days. In the first notable encounter, at Wickfield near Worcester, September 23, 1642, their forces received a total defeat. Whitelock says, they were all killed or routed, and only one man lost on the king's side. Yet the Parliamentarians spread about printed papers, bragging of it as a complete victory, and ordained a special thanksgiving in London. This they did after the battle of Keynton, and the second fight at Newbury; but particularly after Sir William Waller received that great defeat at Roundway-down, when they kept a thanksgiving at Gloucester, and made rejoicings for a signal victory, which they pretended he had gained for them. This was no new practice. See Polyæni *Stratagem.* lib. i. cap. 35 and 44.—Stratocles persuaded the Athenians to offer a sacrifice to the gods, by way of thanks, on account of their having defeated their enemies, although he knew that the Athenian fleet had been defeated. When the truth was known, and the people became exasperated, his reply was, "What injury have I done you? it is owing to me that you have spent three days in joy."—Catherine de Medicis used to say, that a false report, if believed for

For those who run from th' enemy,
 Engage them equally to fly; 290
 And when the fight becomes a chase,
 Those win the day that win the race;¹
 And that which would not pass in fights,
 Has done the feat with easy flights;
 Recover'd many a desp'rate campaign 295
 With Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champaign;
 Restor'd the fainting high and mighty,
 With brandy-wine,² and *aqua-vitæ*;
 And made them stoutly overcome
 With bacrack, hoccamore, and mum;³ 300
 Whom th' uncontroll'd decrees of fate
 To victory necessitate;
 With which, altho' they run or burn,⁴
 They unavoidably return;
 Or else their sultan populaces 305
 Still strangle all their routed bassas.⁵

three days, might save a state. Napoleon understood these tactics thoroughly. See many stories of the same kind in the "General Dictionary," vol. x. p. 337.

¹ An old philosopher, at a drinking match, insisted that he had won the prize because he was first drunk.

² In Germany it is still called *Branntwein*. *Aqua vitæ* was formerly used in this country as a medicine only.

³ The first is an excellent kind of Rhenish wine, called Bacharach, from a town of that name in the lower Palatinate, said to be derived from *Bacchi ara*, the altar of Bacchus. Hoccamore means *Hochheimer*, the Rhenish wine which first became familiarly known in this country, whence all the others obtained, though improperly, the name of Hock. Mum is a rich, strong beer, made in Brunswick, and called *Braunschweiger Mumme*. It had great reputation everywhere, and is said to have been introduced into this country by General Monk. The invention of it is attributed by some to Christopher Mumme, in 1489, but it seems not unlikely to have derived its name from its being a delicious beer used on feast-days and holidays, or *Mummen*, the old German word for revels, whence our term *mummeries*. A receipt for making it is preserved in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 524. This signification of *Mum* seems to have nothing in common with that indicating *silence*, explained in a previous note.

⁴ That is, though they run away, or their ships are fired. See v. 308. This may refer to the repulse of Popham at Kinsale, which he had expected to take by bribing the royalist commander, who having received the bribe, nevertheless resisted, and with success, the attack of the Parliament's fleet and army.

⁵ The mob, like the sultan or grand seignior, seldom fail to strangle any of their commanders, called *Bassas*, if they prove unsuccessful; thus Waller

Quoth Hudibras, I understand
 What fights thou mean'st at sea and land,
 And who those were that run away,
 And yet gave out they 'd won the day : 310
 Altho' the rabble sous'd them for 't,
 O'er head and ears, in mud and dirt.
 'Tis true our modern way of war
 Is grown more politic by far,¹
 But not so resolute and bold, 315
 Nor tied to honour, as the old.
 For now they laugh at giving battle,
 Unless it be to herds of cattle ;
 Or fighting convoys of provision,
 The whole design o' th' expedition, 320
 And not with downright blows to rout
 The enemy, but eat them out :
 As fighting, in all beasts of prey,
 And eating, are perform'd one way,
 To give defiance to their teeth, 325
 And fight their stubborn guts² to death ;

was neglected after the battle of Roundway-down, called by the wits Run-away-down.

¹ Butler's unpublished Common-place Book has the following lines on "The modern way of war."

For fighting now is out of mode,
 And stratagem's the only road ;
 Unless in th' out-of-fashion wars,
 Of barb'rous Turks and Polanders.
 All feats of arms are now reduc'd
 To chousing, or to being chous'd ;
 They fight not now to overthrow,
 But gull, or circumvent a foe.
 And watch all small advantages
 As if they fought a game at chess ;
 And he's approv'd the most deserving
 Who longest can hold out at starving.
 Who makes best fricasees of cats,
 Of frogs and —, and mice and rats ;
 Pottage of vermin, and ragoos
 Of trunks and boxes, and old shoes.
 And those who, like th' immortal gods,
 Do never eat, have still the odds.

² Later editions read, the others' stomachs.

And those achieve the high'st renown,
 That bring the other stomachs down.
 There's now no fear of wounds nor maiming,
 All dangers are reduc'd to famine, 330
 And feats of arms to plot, design,
 Surprise, and stratagem, and mine;
 But have no need nor use of courage,
 Unless it be for glory, 'r forage:
 For if they fight 'tis but by chance, 335
 When one side vent'ring to advance,
 And come uncivilly too near,
 Are charg'd unmercifully i' th' rear,
 And forc'd, with terrible resistance,
 To keep hereafter at a distance, 340
 To pick out ground t' encamp upon,
 Where store of largest rivers run,
 That serve, instead of peaceful barriers,
 To part th' engagements of their warriors;
 Where both from side to side may skip, 345
 And only encounter at bo-peep:
 For men are found the stouter-hearted,
 The certainer they 're to be parted,
 And therefore post themselves in bogs,
 As th' ancient mice attack'd the frogs,¹ 350
 And made their mortal enemy,
 The water-rat, their great ally.²
 For 'tis not now, who's stout and bold?
 But, who bears hunger best; and cold?³
 And he's approv'd the most deserving, 355
 Who longest can hold out at starving;
 But he that routs most pigs and cows,
 The formidablest man of prow'ss.⁴

¹ Alluding to Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, or *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*.

² Meaning the Dutch, who were allies of the Parliamentarians.

³ An ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one meal a week toward the charge of the army.

⁴ A sneer, perhaps, on Venables and Pen, who were unfortunate in their expedition against the Spaniards at St Domingo, in the year 1655. It is observed of them, that they exercised their valour only on horses, asses, and such like, making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skins, en-

So th' emperor Caligula,
 That triumph'd o'er the British sea,¹ 360
 Took crabs and oysters prisoners,
 And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers,²
 Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles
 With periwinkles, prawns, and muscles,
 And led his troops with furious gallops, 365
 To charge whole regiments of scallops;
 Not like their ancient way of war,
 To wait on his triumphal car;
 But when he went to dine or sup,
 More bravely ate his captives up, 370
 And left all war, by his example,
 Reduc'd to vict'ling of a camp well.
 Quoth Ralph, By all that you have said,
 And twice as much that I cou'd add,
 'Tis plain you cannot now do worse 375
 Than take this out-of-fashion'd course;
 To hope, by stratagem, to woo her;
 Or waging battle to subdue her;
 Tho' some have done it in romances,
 And bang'd them into am'rous fancies; 380
 As those who won the Amazons,
 By wanton drubbing of their bones;
 And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride³
 By courting of her back and side.

trails, and all, to satiate their hunger. See *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iii. No. xii. p. 494, 498.

¹ Caligula, having ranged his army on the sea-shore, and disposed his instruments of war in the order of battle, on a sudden ordered his men to gather up the shells on the strand, and fill their helmets and bosoms with them, calling them the spoils of the ocean, as if by that proceeding he had made a conquest of the British sea. Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*.

² Sir Arthur Hazelrig had a regiment nicknamed his lobsters; and it has been thought by some, that the defeat at Roundway-down was owing to the ill-behaviour of this regiment. Cleveland, in his character of a London diurnal, says of it: "This is the William which is the city's champion, and the diurnal's delight. Yet, in all this triumph, translate the scene but at Roundway-down, Hazelrig's lobsters were turned into crabs, and crawled backwards."

³ Rinaldo is hero of the last book of Tasso; but he did not win his Armida thus; perhaps the poet, quoting by memory, intended to mention Ruggiero in Ariosto. See also *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

But since those times and feats are over, 385
 They are not for a modern lover,
 When mistresses are too cross-grain'd,
 By such addresses to be gain'd;
 And if they were, would have it out
 With many another kind of bout. 390
 Therefore I hold no course s' infeasible,
 As this of force, to win the Jezebel,
 To storm her heart by th' antic charms
 Of ladies errant, force of arms;
 But rather strive by law to win her, 395
 And try the title you have in her.
 Your case is clear, you have her word,
 And me to witness the accord;¹
 Besides two more of her retinue
 To testify what pass'd between you; 400
 More probable, and like to hold,
 Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold,²
 For which so many that renounc'd
 Their plighted contracts have been trounc'd,
 And bills upon record been found, 405
 That forc'd the ladies to compound;
 And that, unless I miss the matter,
 Is all the bus'ness you look after.
 Besides, encounters at the bar
 Are braver now than those in war, 410
 In which the law does execution
 With less disorder and confusion;
 Has more of honour in 't, some hold,
 Not like the new way, but the old,³
 When those the pen had drawn together, 415
 Decided quarrels with the feather,
 And winged arrows kill'd as dead,
 And more than bullets now of lead:
 So all their combats now, as then,
 Are manag'd chiefly by the pen; 420

¹ Ralpho, no doubt, was ready to witness anything that would serve his turn; and hoped the widow's two attendants would do the same.

² The breaking of a piece of gold between lovers was formerly much practised, and looked upon as a firm marriage contract.

³ Ralpho persuades the Knight to gain the widow, at least her fortune, not by the use of fire-arms, but by the feathered quill of the lawyer.

That does the feat, with braver vigours,
 In words at length, as well as figures;
 Is judge of all the world performs
 In voluntary feats of arms,
 And whatsoe'er 's achiev'd in fight, 425
 Determines which is wrong or right;
 For whether you prevail, or lose,
 All must be try'd there in the close;
 And therefore 'tis not wise to shun
 What you must trust to ere ye 've done. 430
 The law that settles all you do,
 And marries where you did but woo;
 That makes the most perfidious lover,
 A lady, that's as false, recover;¹
 And if it judge upon your side, 435
 Will soon extend her for your bride,²
 And put her person, goods, or lands,
 Or which you like best, into your hands.
 For law's the wisdom of all ages,
 And manag'd by the ablest sages, 440
 Who, tho' their bus'ness at the bar
 Be but a kind of civil war,
 In which th' engage with fiercer dungeons
 Than e'er the Grecians did, and Trojans;
 They never manage the contest 445
 T' impair their public interest,
 Or by their controversies lessen
 The dignity of their profession;
 Not like us brethren, who divide
 Our commonwealth, the Cause, and side;³ 450
 And tho' we 're all as near of kindred
 As th' outward man is to the inward,
 We agree in nothing, but to wrangle
 About the slightest fingle-fangle,

¹ That is, the law will recover a lady though she be as false as the most perfidious lover.

² Meaning to levy an extent upon the lady: seize her for your use in satisfaction of the debt.

³ Take part on one side or the other. Whereas we who have a common interest, a common cause, a common party against the Royalists and Episcopians, weaken our strength by internal divisions among ourselves

While lawyers have more sober sense, 455
 Than t' argue at their own expense,¹
 But make their best advantages
 Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss ;²
 And out of foreign controversies,
 By aiding both sides, fill their purses ; 460
 But have no int'rest in the Cause
 For which th' engage and wage the laws,
 Nor further prospect than their pay,
 Whether they lose or win the day.
 And tho' th' abounded in all ages, 465
 With sundry learned clerks and sages ;
 Tho' all their bus'ness be dispute,
 With which they canvass ev'ry suit,
 They 've no disputes about their art,
 Nor in polemics controvert ; 470
 While all professions else are found
 With nothing but disputes t' abound :
 Divines of all sorts, and physicians,
 Philosophers, mathematicians ;
 The Galenist, and Paracelsian, 475
 Condemn the way each other deals in ;³
 Anatomists dissect and mangle,
 To cut themselves out work to wrangle ;
 Astrologers dispute their dreams,
 That in their sleeps they talk of schemes ; 480
 And heralds stickle, who got who,
 So many hundred years ago.
 But lawyers are too wise a nation
 T' expose their trade to disputation,
 Or make the busy rabble judges 485
 Of all their secret piques and grudges ;

¹ The wisdom of lawyers is such, that however they may seem to quarrel at the bar, they are good friends the moment they leave the court. Unlike us, Independents and Presbyterians, who, though our opinions are very similar, are always wrangling about the merest trifles.

² The Swiss mercenaries, as they are commonly called, if well paid, will enter into the service of any foreign power : but, according to the adage, "*point d'argent, point de Suisse.*"

³ The followers of Galen advocated the use of herbs and roots ; the disciples of Paracelsus recommended mineral preparations, especially mercury.

In which, whoever wins the day,
 The whole profession's sure to pay.¹
 Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,
 Dare undertake to do their feats, 490
 When in all other sciences
 They swarm like insects, and increase.
 For what bigot² durst ever draw,
 By Inward Light, a deed in law?
 Or could hold forth by Revelation, 495
 An answer to a declaration?
 For those that meddle with their tools,
 Will cut their fingers, if they 're fools:
 And if you follow their advice,
 In bills, and answers, and replies, 500
 They'll write a love-letter in chancery,
 Shall bring her upon oath to answer ye,
 And soon reduce her t' be your wife,
 Or make her weary of her life.

The Knight, who us'd with tricks and shifts 505
 To edify by Ralpho's gifts,
 But in appearance cried him down,³
 To make them better seem his own,
 All plagiaries' constant course
 Of sinking when they take a purse,⁴ 510
 Resolv'd to follow his advice,
 But kept it from him by disguise;
 And, after stubborn contradiction,
 To counterfeit his own conviction,
 And, by transition, fall upon 515
 The resolution as his own.

Quoth he, This gambol thou advisest
 Is, of all others, the unwisest;
 For, if I think by law to gain her,
 'There's nothing sillier nor vainer, 520

¹ When lawyers quarrel, they do not suffer the public to know it; for, whichever disputant might gain the advantage, the whole profession would suffer by the exposures made in the brawl.

² The accent is here laid on the last syllable of bigot.

³ *Var.* cried *them* down in 1700 and subsequent editions.

⁴ Meaning that the plagiarist conceals his robbery with the dexterity of a pickpocket.

'Tis but to hazard my pretence,
 Where nothing's certain but th' expense ;
 To act against myself, and traverse
 My suit and title to her favours ;
 And if she should, which heav'n forbid, 525
 O'erthrow me, as the fiddler did,
 What after-course have I to take,
 'Gainst losing all I have to stake ?
 He that with injury is griev'd,
 And goes to law to be reliev'd, 530
 Is sillier than a sottish chouse,
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,
 Applies himself to cunning men,
 To help him to his goods agen ;¹
 When all he can expect to gain, 535
 Is but to squander more in vain :
 And yet I have no other way,
 But is as difficult to play :
 For to reduce her by main force
 Is now in vain ; by fair means, worse ; 540
 But worst of all to give her over,
 'Till she's as desp'rate to recover :
 For bad games are thrown up too soon,
 Until they 're never to be won ;
 But since I have no other course, 545
 But is as bad t' attempt, or worse,
 He that complies against his will,
 Is of his own opinion still,

¹ In Butler's MS. under these lines are many severe strictures on lawyers :

More nice and subtle than those wire-drawers
 Of equity and justice, common lawyers ;
 Who never end, but always prune a suit
 To make it bear the greater store of fruit.

As labouring men their hands, criers their lungs,
 Porters their backs, lawyers hire out their tongues.
 A tongue to mire and gain accustom'd long,
 Grows quite insensible to right or wrong.

The humourist that would have had a trial,
 With one that did but look upon his dial,
 And sued him but for telling of his clock,
 And saying, 'twas too fast, or slow it struck.

Which he may 'dhere to, yet disown,
 For reasons to himself best known ; 550
 But 'tis not to b' avoided now,
 For Sidrophel resolves to sue ;
 Whom I must answer, or begin,
 Inevitably, first with him ;
 For I've receiv'd advertisement, 555
 By times enough, of his intent ;
 And knowing he that first complains
 Th' advantage of the bus'ness gains ;
 For courts of justice understand
 The plaintiff to be eldest hand ; 560
 Who what he pleases may aver,
 The other, nothing till he swear ;¹
 Is freely admitted to all grace,
 And lawful favour, by his place ;
 And, for his bringing custom in, 565
 Has all advantages to win :
 I, who resolve to oversee
 No lucky opportunity,
 Will go to counsel, to advise
 Which way t' encounter, or surprise, 570
 And after long consideration,
 Have found out one to fit th' occasion,
 Most apt for what I have to do,
 As counsellor, and justice too.²
 And truly so, no doubt, he was, 575
 A lawyer fit for such a case.
 An old dull sot, who told the clock,³
 For many years at Bridewell-dock,
 At Westminster, and Hicks's-hall,
 And *hiccius doctius* ⁴ play'd in all ; 580

¹ An answer to a bill in chancery is always upon oath ;—a petition not so.

² Probably the poet had his eye on some particular person here. The old annotator says it was Edmund Prideaux ; but the respectable and wealthy Attorney-General of that name cannot have been meant. The portrait must have been taken from some one of a much lower class. A pettifogging lawyer named Siderfin is said with more probability to have been intended.

³ The puisné judge was formerly called the Tell-clock ; as supposed to be not much employed, but listening how the time went.

⁴ Cant words used by jugglers, corrupted perhaps from *hic est inter doctos*. See note on *hocus pocus*, at line 716.

Where, in all governments and times,
 He 'd been both friend and foe to crimes,
 And us'd two equal ways of gaining,
 By hind'ring justice, or maintaining,¹
 To many a whore gave privilege, 585
 And whipp'd, for want of quarterage ;
 Cart-loads of bawds to prison sent,
 For b'ing behind a fortnight's rent ;
 And many a trusty pimp and crony
 To Puddle-dock,² for want of money : 590
 Engag'd the constables to seize
 All those that wou'd not break the peace ;
 Nor give him back his own foul words,
 Though sometimes commoners, or lords,
 And kept 'em prisoners of course, 595
 For being sober at ill hours ;
 That in the morning he might free
 Or bind 'em over for his fee.
 Made monsters fine, and puppet-plays,
 For leave to practise in their ways ; 600
 Farm'd out all cheats, and went a share
 With th' headborough and scavenger ;
 And made the dirt i' th' streets compound,
 For taking up the public ground ;³
 The kennel, and the king's high-way, 605
 For being unmolested, pay ;
 Let out the stocks and whipping-post,
 And cage, to those that gave him most ;
 Impos'd a tax on bakers' ears,⁴
 And for false weights on chandelers ; 610
 Made victuallers and vintners fine
 For arbitrary ale and wine.⁵

¹ Butler served some years as clerk to a justice. The person who employed him was an able magistrate, and respectable character: but in that situation he might have had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the practice of trading justices.

² There was a gaol at this place for petty offenders.

³ Did not levy the penalty for a nuisance, but compounded with the offender by accepting a bribe.

⁴ That is, took a bribe to save them from the pillory. Bakers were liable to have their ears cropped for light weights.

⁵ For selling ale or wine without licence, or by less than the statutable

But was a kind and constant friend
 To all that regularly offend :
 As residentiary bawds, 615
 And brokers that receive stol'n goods ;
 That cheat in lawful mysteries,
 And pay church-duties, and his fees ;
 But was implacable and awkward,
 To all that interlop'd and hawker'd.¹ 620

To this brave man the Knight repairs
 For counsel in his law affairs,
 And found him mounted in his pew,
 With books and money plac'd for show,
 Like nest-eggs to make clients lay, 625
 And for his false opinion pay :
 To whom the Knight, with comely grace,
 Put off his hat to put his case ;
 Which he as proudly entertain'd,
 As th' other courteously strain'd ; 630
 And, to assure him 'twas not that
 He look'd for, bid him put on's hat.

Quoth he, There is one Sidrophel
 Whom I have cudgell'd—Very well—
 And now he brags to 've beaten me— 635
 Better and better still, quoth he—
 And vows to stick me to the wall,
 Where'er he meets me—Best of all.
 'Tis true the knave has taken 's oath
 That I robb'd him—Well done, in troth. 640

measure, or spurious mixtures. So Butler says of his Justice, Remains, vol. ii. p. 191. "He does his country signal service in the judicious and mature legitimation of tipling-houses ; that the subject be not imposed upon with illegal and arbitrary ale."

¹ That is, he was very severe to hawkers and interlopers, who interfered with the regular trade of roguery, but favoured the offences of those who kept houses, took out licences, and paid rates and taxes. The passage is thus amplified in prose, in Butler's *Character of a Justice of the Peace*. "He uses great care and moderation in punishing those that offend regularly by their calling, as residentiary bawds, and incumbent pimps, that pay parish duties, shopkeepers that use constant false weights and measures, these he rather prunes, that they may grow the better, than disables ; but is very severe to hawkers and interlopers, that commit iniquity on the bye."

When he 's confess'd he stole my cloak,
 And pick'd my fob, and what he took ;
 Which was the cause that made me bang him,
 And take my goods again—Marry¹ hang him. 645
 Now, whether I should beforehand
 Swear he robb'd me ?—I understand.
 Or bring my action of conversion
 And trover for my goods ?²—Ah, whoreson !
 Or, if 'tis better to indite,
 And bring him to his trial ?—Right. 650
 Prevent what he designs to do,
 And swear for th' state against him ?³—True.
 Or whether he that is defendant,
 In this case, has the better end on't ;
 Who, putting in a new cross-bill, 655
 May traverse th' action ?—Better still.
 Then there's a lady too—Aye, marry.
 That's easily prov'd accessory ;
 A widow, who by solemn vows,
 Contracted to me for my spouse, 660
 Combin'd with him to break her word,
 And has abetted all—Good Lord !
 Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel
 To tamper with the dev'l of hell,
 Who put m' into a horrid fear, 665
 Fear of my life—Make that appear.
 Made an assault with fiends and men
 Upon my body—Good agen.
 And kept me in a deadly fright,
 And false imprisonment, all night. 670
 Meanwhile they robb'd me, and my horse,
 And stole my saddle—Worse and worse.
 And made me mount upon the bare ridge,
 T' avoid a wretcheder miscarriage.

¹ The second syllable must be slurred in reading. For a note on *Marry-come-up* see page 93.

² An action of trover is an action brought for recovery of goods wrongfully detained.

³ Swear that a crime was committed by him against the public peace, or peace of the state.

Sir, quoth the Lawyer, not to flatter ye, 675
 You have as good and fair a battery¹
 As heart can wish, and need not shame
 The proudest man alive to claim :
 For if they 've us'd you as you say,
 Marry, quoth I, God give you joy ; 680
 I wou'd it were my case, I'd give
 More than I'll say, or you'll believe :
 I wou'd so trounce her, and her purse,
 I'd make her kneel for better or worse ;
 For matrimony, and hanging here, 685
 Both go by destiny so clear,²
 That you as sure may pick and choose,
 As cross I win, and pile you lose ;³
 And if I durst, I wou'd advance
 As much in ready maintenance,⁴ 690
 As upon any case I've known ;
 But we that practise dare not own :
 The law severely contrabands
 Our taking bus'ness off men's hands ;
 'Tis common barratry,⁵ that bears 695
 Point-blank an action 'gainst our ears,
 And crops them till there is not leather,
 To stick a pen in left of either ;
 For which some do the summer-sault,
 And o'er the bar, like tumblers, vault : 6 700

¹ Meaning an action of Battery. See Measure for Measure, Act ii. sc. 1, and Twelfth Night, Act iv. sc. 1.

² This proverbial saying has already been quoted at page 166. We will only add here that it is quoted by several of the old poets, as also by Shakespeare, *Merch. of Ven.* Act ii. sc. 9, and Ben Jonson, *Barthol. Fair*, Act iv. sc. 3.

³ Meaning a mere toss up, see page 292.

⁴ Maintenance is the unlawful upholding of a cause or person.

⁵ Barratry is the unlawful stirring up of suits or quarrels, either in court or elsewhere.

⁶ Summer-sault (or somerset), throwing heels over head, a feat of activity performed by tumblers. When a lawyer has been guilty of misconduct, and is not allowed to practise in the courts, he is said to be thrown over the bar.

But you may swear at any rate,
 Things not in nature, for the state ;
 For in all courts of justice here
 A witness is not said to swear,
 But make oath, that is, in plain terms, 705
 To forge whatever he affirms.

I thank you, quoth the Knight, for that,
 Because 'tis to my purpose pat—
 For Justice, tho' she's painted blind,
 Is to the weaker side inclin'd, 710
 Like charity ; else right and wrong
 Cou'd never hold it out so long,
 And, like blind fortune, with a sleight,
 Conveys men's interest and right,
 From Stiles's pocket into Nokes's,¹ 715
 As easily as *hocus pocus* ;²
 Plays fast and loose, makes men obnoxious ;
 And clear again, like *hiccius doctius*.
 Then whether you would take her life,
 Or but recover her for your wife, 720
 Or be content with what she has,
 And let all other matters pass,
 The bus'ness to the law's alone,³
 The proof is all it looks upon ;
 And you can want no witnesses, 725
 To swear to any thing you please,⁴
 That hardly get their mere expenses
 By th' labour of their consciences,

¹ Fictitious names, sometimes used in stating cases, issuing writs, &c.

² In all probability a corruption of *hoc est corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome, in their trick of transubstantiation.—TILLOTSON. But Nares thinks that the origin of the term may be derived from the Italian jugglers, who called that craft *Ochus Bochus*, after a magician of that name. *Hocus*, to cheat, comes from this phrase ; and Malone suggests that the modern word *hoax* has the same origin.

³ Later editions read :

The bus'ness to the law's *all one*.

⁴ Taylor, the Water Poet, says, "that some do make a trade of swearing ; as a fellow being once asked of what occupation he was, made answer, that he was a *vitness*, meaning one that for hire would swear in any man's cause, right or wrong."

Or letting out to hire their ears
 To affidavit customers, 730
 At inconsiderable values,
 To serve for jurymen or *tales*.¹
 Altho' retain'd in th' hardest matters
 Of trustees and administrators.
 For that, quoth he, let me alone ; 735
 We've store of such, and all our own,
 Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers,
 Th' ablest of all conscience-stretchers.²
 That's well, quoth he, but I should guess,
 By weighing all advantages, 740
 Your surest way is first to pitch
 On Bongey for a water-witch ;³
 And when y' have hang'd the conjurer,
 Y' have time enough to deal with her.
 In th' int'rim spare for no trepans, 745
 To draw her neck into the banns ;
 Ply her with love-letters and billets,
 And bait 'em well for quirks and quilletts,⁴
 With trains t' inveigle, and surprise
 Her heedless answers and replies ; 750
 And if she miss the mouse-trap lines,
 They'll serve for other by designs ;
 And make an artist understand,
 To copy out her seal or hand ;
 Or find void places in the paper, 755
 To steal in something to entrap her ;

¹ *Tales*, or *Tales de circumstantibus*, are persons of like rank and quality with such of the principal pannel as are challenged, but do not appear ; and who, happening to be in court, are taken to supply their places as jurymen.

² Downing and Stephen Marshall, who absolved from their oaths the prisoners released at Brentford. See note at pages 82 and 177, 178.

³ On Sidrophel the reputed conjurer. The poet nicknames him Bongey, from a Franciscan friar of that name, who lived in Oxford about the end of the thirteenth century, and was by some classed with Roger Bacon, and therefore deemed a conjurer by the common people. "A water-witch" means probably one to be tried by the water-ordeal.

⁴ Subtleties. Shakspeare frequently used the word quillet, which is probably a contraction from quibblet. See *Wright's Glossary*.

Till, with her worldly goods and body,
 Spite of her heart she has indow'd ye:
 Retain all sorts of witnesses,
 That ply i' th' Temple, under trees; 760
 Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts,¹
 About the cross-legg'd knights, their hosts;²
 Or wait for customers between
 The pillar-rows in Lincoln's-Inn;³
 Where vouchers, forgers, common-bail, 765
 And affidavit-men ne'er fail
 T' expose to sale all sorts of oaths,
 According to their ears and clothes,⁴
 Their only necessary tools,
 Besides the Gospel, and their souls;⁵ 770
 And when ye 're furnish'd with all purveys,
 I shall be ready at your service.
 I would not give, quoth Hudibras,
 A straw to understand a case,
 Without the admirabler skill 775
 To wind and manage it at will;
 To veer, and tack, and steer a cause,
 Against the weather-gage of laws;
 And ring the changes upon cases,
 As plain as noses upon faces; 780

¹ Witnesses who are ready to swear anything, true or false. See note at page 28.

² These witnesses frequently plied for custom about the Temple-church, where are several monumental effigies of knights templars, who, according to custom, are represented cross-legged. *Their hosts* means that nobody gave them any better entertainment than these knights, and therefore that they were almost starved.

³ The crypt beneath the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, was another place where these knights of the post plied for custom.

⁴ Lord Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii. p. 355, tells us that an Irishman of low condition and meanly clothed, being brought as evidence against Lord Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, Mr Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial. The like was practised in the trial of Lord Stafford for the popish plot. See Carte's *History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde*, vol. ii. p. 517.

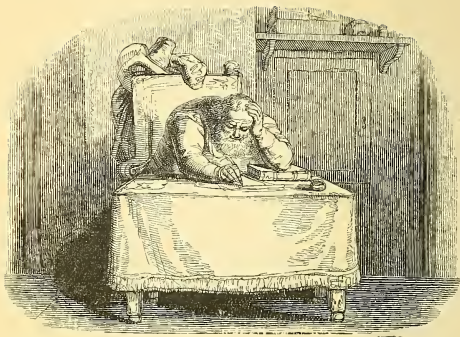
⁵ When a witness swears he holds the Gospel in his right hand, and kisses it: the Gospel therefore is called his tool, by which he damns his other tool, namely, his soul.

As you have well instructed me,
For which you 've earn'd, here 'tis, your fee.
I long to practise your advice,
And try the subtle artifice;
To bait a letter as you bid—

785

As, not long after, thus he did:
For, having pump'd up all his wit,
And humm'd upon it, thus he writ.





AN HEROICAL EPISTLE

OF

HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY.

WHO was once as great as Cæsar,
Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar;¹
And from as fam'd a conqueror,
As ever took degree in war,
Or did his exercise in battle,
By you turn'd out to grass with cattle.
For since I am deny'd access
To all my earthly happiness,

5

¹ See Daniel, chap. iv. verses 32, 33.

Am fallen from the paradise
 Of your good graces, and fair eyes ; 10
 Lost to the world and you, I'm sent
 To everlasting banishment,
 Where all the hopes I had t' have won
 Your heart, b'ing dash'd, will break my own.
 Yet if you were not so severe 15
 To pass your doom before you hear,
 You'd find, upon my just defence,
 How much you 've wrong'd my innocence.
 That once I made a vow to you,
 Which yet is unperform'd, 'tis true ; 20
 But not because it is unpaid
 Tis violated, though delay'd.
 Or if it were, it is no fault
 So heinous, as you'd have it thought ;
 To undergo the loss of ears, 25
 Like vulgar hackney perjurers ;
 For there's a difference in the case,
 Between the noble and the base ;
 Who always are observ'd to 've done 't
 Upon as different an account ; 30
 The one for great and weighty cause,
 To salve in honour ugly flaws ;
 For none are like to do it sooner
 Than those who 're nicest of their honour ;
 The other, for base gain and pay, 35
 Forswear and perjure by the day,
 And make th' exposing and retailing
 Their souls, and consciences, a calling.
 It is no scandal, nor aspersion,
 Upon a great and noble person, 40
 To say, he nat'rally abhorr'd
 Th' old-fashion'd trick, to keep his word,
 Tho' 'tis perfidiousness and shame,
 In meaner men to do the same :
 For to be able to forget, 45
 Is found more useful to the great
 Than gout, or deafness, or bad eyes,
 To make 'em pass for wondrous wise.
 But tho' the law, on perjurers,
 Inflicts the forfeiture of ears, 50

It is not just, that does exempt
 The guilty, and punish the innocent.¹
 To make the ears repair the wrong
 Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue ;
 And when one member is forsworn,
 Another to be cropp'd or torn. 55
 And if you shou'd, as you design,
 By course of law, recover mine,
 You're like, if you consider right,
 To gain but little honour by't. 60
 For he that for his lady's sake
 Lays down his life, or limbs, at stake,
 Does not so much deserve her favour,
 As he that pawns his soul to have her.
 This you 've acknowledg'd I have done,
 Altho' you now disdain to own ; 65
 But sentence² what you rather ought
 T' esteem good service than a fault.
 Besides, oaths are not bound to bear
 That literal sense the words infer,
 But, by the practice of the age,
 Are to be judg'd how far th' engage ; 70
 And where the sense by custom's checkt,
 Are found void, and of none effect,
 For no man takes or keeps a vow,
 But just as he sees others do ; 75
 Nor are th' oblig'd to be so brittle,
 As not to yield and bow a little :
 For as best temper'd blades are found,
 Before they break, to bend quite round ; 80
 So truest oaths are still most tough,
 And, tho' they bow, are breaking-proof.
 Then wherefore should they not b^r allow'd
 In love a greater latitude ?
 For as the law of arms approves 85
 All ways to conquest, so shou'd love's ;
 And not be tied to true or false,
 But make that justest that prevails :

¹ This line must be read—

“ The guilty 'nd punish th' innocent.”

² That is, condemn or pass sentence upon.

For how can that which is above
 All empire, high and mighty love, 90
 Submit its great prerogative,
 To any other pow'r alive ?
 Shall love, that to no crown gives place,
 Become the subject of a case ?
 The fundamental law of nature, 95
 Be over-rul'd by those made after ?
 Commit the censure of its cause
 To any, but its own great laws ?
 Love, that's the world's preservative,
 That keeps all souls of things alive ; 100
 Controls the mighty pow'r of fate,
 And gives mankind a longer date ;
 The life of nature, that restores
 As fast as time and death devours ;
 To whose free gift the world does owe 105
 Not only earth, but heaven too :
 For love's the only trade that's driven,
 The interest of state in heaven,¹
 Which nothing but the soul of man
 Is capable to entertain. 110
 For what can earth produce, but love,
 To represent the joys above ?
 Or who but lovers can converse,
 Like angels, by the eye-discourse ?
 Address, and compliment by vision, 115
 Make love, and court by intuition ?
 And burn in am'rous flames as fierce
 As those celestial ministers ?

¹ So Waller : All that we know of those above,
 Is, that they live and that they love.

But the Spanish priest *Henriquez*, in his singular book entitled "The business of the Saints in Heaven," printed at Salamanca, 1631, assumes to know more about them. He says that every *saint* shall have his particular house in heaven, and Christ a most magnificent palace! That there shall be large streets, great piazzas, fountains, and gardens. That there shall be a sovereign pleasure in kissing and embracing the bodies of the blest; and pleasant baths, where they shall bathe themselves in each other's company; that all shall sing like nightingales, and delight themselves in masquerades, feasts and ballads; and that the *angels* shall be attired as females, and present themselves to the saints in full costume, with curls and locks, waistcoats and fardingales.

Then how can anything offend,
 In order to so great an end ? 120
 Or heav'n itself a sin resent,
 That for its own supply was meant ?¹
 That merits, in a kind mistake,
 A pardon for th' offence's sake ?
 Or if it did not, but the cause 125
 Were left to th' injury of laws,
 What tyranny can disapprove,
 There should be equity in love ?
 For laws, that are inanimate,
 And feel no sense of love or hate,² 130
 That have no passion of their own,
 Nor pity to be wrought upon,
 Are only proper to inflict
 Revenge on criminals as strict.
 But to have power to forgive, 135
 Is empire and prerogative ;
 And 'tis in crowns a nobler gem
 To grant a pardon than condemn.
 Then, since so few do what they ough ,
 'Tis great t' indulge a well-meant fault ; 140
 For why should he who made address,
 All humble ways, without success ;
 And met with nothing in return
 But insolence, affronts, and scorn,
 Not strive by wit to counter-mine, 145
 And bravely carry his design ?
 He who was us'd s' unlike a soldier,
 Blown up with philters of love-powder ;
 And after letting blood, and purging,
 Condemn'd to voluntary scourging ; 150
 Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,
 And claw'd by goblins in the night ;
 Insulted on, revil'd and jeer'd,
 With rude invasion of his beard ;
 And when your sex was foully scandal'd, 155
 As foully by the rabble handled ;

¹ The Knight sophistically argues that heaven cannot resent love as a sin, since it is itself love, and therefore all love is heaven.

² Aristotle defined law to be, reason without passion ; and despotism, or arbitrary power, to be, passion without reason.

Attacked by despicable foes,
 And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows ;
 And, after all, to be debarr'd
 So much as standing on his guard ; 160
 When horses, being spurr'd and prick'd,
 Have leave to kick for being kick'd ?
 Or why should you, whose mother-wits¹
 Are furnish'd with all perquisites ;
 That with your breeding teeth begin, 165
 And nursing babies that lie in ;
 B' allow'd to put all tricks upon
 Our cully² sex, and we use none ?
 We, who have nothing but frail vows
 Against your stratagems t' oppose ; 170
 Or oaths, more feeble than your own,
 By which we are no less put down ?³
 You wound, like Parthians, while you fly,
 And kill with a retreating eye ;⁴
 Retire the more, the more we press, 175
 To draw us into ambushes :
 As pirates all false colours wear,
 T' intrap th' unwary mariner ;
 So women, to surprise us, spread
 The borrow'd flags of white and red ; 180
 Display 'em thicker on their cheeks,
 Than their old grandmothers, the Picts ;
 And raise more devils with their looks,
 Than conjurers' less subtle books :
 Lay trains of amorous intrigues, 185
 In tow'rs, and curls, and periwigs,
 With greater art and cunning rear'd,
 Than Philip Nye's Thanksgiving-beard ;⁵

¹ Why should you, who were sharp and witty from your infancy, who bred wit with your teeth, &c.

² Foolish, or easily gulled.

³ That is, we are no less subdued by your oaths than by your stratagems.

⁴ The Parthians were excellent horsemen and very dexterous in shooting their arrows behind them, by which means their flight was often as destructive to the enemy as their attack.

⁵ Nye was a member of the Assembly of Divines, and as remarkable for his beard as for his fanaticism. He first entered at Brazen-nose college, Oxford, and afterwards removed to Magdalen-hall, where he took his degrees, and then went to Holland. In 1640 he returned home a furious Presbyterian ;

Prepost'rously t' entice and gain
 Those to adore 'em they disdain ; 190
 And only draw 'em in to clog,
 With idle names, a catalogue.¹
 A lover is, the more he's brave,
 T' his mistress but the more a slave ;²
 And whatsoever she commands, 195
 Becomes a favour from her hands,
 Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,
 Whether it be unjust or just.
 Then when he is compell'd by her
 T' adventures he would else forbear, 200
 Who, with his honour, can withstand,
 Since force is greater than command ?
 And when necessity's obey'd,
 Nothing can be unjust or bad :
 And therefore, when the mighty pow'rs 205
 Of love, our great ally, and yours,
 Join'd forces not to be withstood
 By frail enamour'd flesh and blood,

and was sent to Scotland to forward the Covenant. He then became a strenuous preacher on the side of the Independents: "was put into Dr Featly's living at Acton, and rode there every Lord's day in triumph in a coach drawn by four horses." He attacked Lilly the astrologer from the pulpit with considerable virulence, and for this service was rewarded with the office of holding forth upon thanksgiving days. Wherefore

He thought upon it, and resolv'd to put
 His beard into as wonderful a cut.

Butler's MS.

This preacher's beard is honoured with an entire poem in Butler's *Genuine Remains*, vol. i. p. 177. Indeed beards at that period were the prominent part of fashionable costume: when the head of a celebrated court chaplain and preacher had been dressed in a superior style, the friseur exclaimed, with a mixture of admiration and self-applause, "I'll be hang'd if any person of taste can attend to one word of the sermon to-day."

¹ To increase the catalogue of their discarded suitors.

² The poet may here possibly allude to some well-known characters of his time. Bishop Burnet says: "The Lady Dysart came to have so much power over Lord Lauderdale, that it lessened him very much in the esteem of all the world; for he delivered himself up to all her humours and passions." And we know that Anne Clarges, at first the mistress, and afterward the wife of General Monk, duke of Albemarle, gained the most undue influence over that intrepid commander, who, though never afraid of bullets, was often terrified by the fury of his wife.

All I have done, unjust or ill,
 Was in obedience to your will, 210
 And all the blame that can be due
 Falls to your cruelty, and you.
 Nor are those scandals I confest,
 Against my will and interest,
 More than is daily done, of course, 215
 By all men, when they're under force
 Whence some, upon the rack, confess
 What th' hangman and their prompters please ;
 But are no sooner out of pain,
 Than they deny it all again. 220
 But when the devil turns confessor,
 Truth is a crime he takes no pleasure
 To hear or pardon, like the founder
 Of liars, whom they all claim under :¹
 And therefore when I told him none, 225
 I think it was the wiser done.
 Nor am I without precedent,
 The first that on th' adventure went ;
 All mankind ever did of course,
 And daily does ² the same, or worse. 230
 For what romance can show a lover,
 That had a lady to recover,
 And did not steer a nearer course,
 To fall aboard in his amours ?
 And what at first was held a crime, 235
 Has turn'd to hon'able in time.
 To what a height did infant Rome,
 By ravishing of women, come ?³

¹ See St John viii. 44. Butler, in his MS. Common-place Book, says.

As lyars, with long use of telling lyes,
 Forget at length if they are true or false,
 So those that plod on anything too long,
 Know nothing whether th' are in the right or wrong ;
 For what are all your demonstrations else,
 But to the higher powers of sense appeals ;
 Senses that th' undervalue and contemn
 As if it lay below their wits and them.

² Var. *daily do*, in all editions to 1716 inclusive.

³ This refers to the well-known story of the Rape of the Sabines.

When men upon their spouses seiz'd,
 And freely marry'd where they pleas'd : 240
 They ne'er forswore themselves, nor lied,
 Nor, in the mind they were in, died ;
 Nor took the pains t' address and sue,
 Nor play'd the masquerade to woo :
 Disdain'd to stay for friends' consents, 245
 Nor juggled about settlements :
 Did need no licence, nor no priest,
 Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist ;
 Nor lawyers, to join land and money
 In the holy state of matrimony, 250
 Before they settled hands and hearts,
 Till alimony or death departs ;¹
 Nor would endure to stay, until
 They 'd got the very bride's good-will,
 But took a wise and shorter course 255
 To win the ladies—downright force ;
 And justly made 'em prisoners then,
 As they have, often since, us men,
 With acting plays, and dancing jigs,²
 The luckiest of all love's intrigues ; 260
 And when they had them at their pleasure,
 They talk'd of love and flames at leisure ;
 For after matrimony's over,
 He that holds out but half a lover,
 Deserves, for ev'ry minute, more 265
 Than half a year of love before ;
 For which the dames, in contemplation
 Of that best way of application,
 Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,
 By suit, or treaty, to be won ;³ 270

¹ Thus printed in some editions of the Prayer Book ; afterwards altered, "till death us do part," as mentioned in a former note. In some editions of Hudibras this line reads, "Till alimony or death *them parts*."

² The whole of this stanza refers to the rape of the Sabines. The Romans, under Romulus, pretending to exhibit some fine shows and diversions, drew together a concourse of young women, and seized them for their wives.

³ When the Sabines came with a large army to demand their daughters, and the two nations were preparing to decide the matter by fight, the women who had been carried away ran between the armies with strong manifestations of grief, and thus effected a reconciliation.

And such as all posterity

Cou'd never equal, nor come nigh.

For women first were made for men,
Not men for them.—It follows, then,
That men have right to every one,
And they no freedom of their own;
And therefore men have pow'r to chuse
But they no charter to refuse.

275

Hence 'tis apparent that what course
Soe'er we take to your amours,
Though by the indirectest way,
'Tis not injustice nor foul play;
And that you ought to take that course
As we take you, for better or worse,
And gratefully submit to those
Who you, before another, chose.

280

For why shou'd ev'ry savage beast
Exceed his great lord's interest? ¹
Have freer pow'r than he, in grace,
And nature, o'er the creature has?
Because the laws he since has made
Have cut off all the pow'r he had;
Retrench'd the absolute dominion

285

That nature gave him over women;
When all his pow'r will not extend
One law of nature to suspend;
And but to offer to repeal

295

The smallest clause, is to rebel.
This, if men rightly understood
Their privilege, they would make good,
And not, like sots, permit their wives
T' encroach on their prerogatives;
For which sin they deserve to be
Kept, as they are, in slavery:
And this some precious gifted teachers,
Unrev'rently reputed lechers, ²

300

305

¹ That is, man sometimes called lord of the world:

Man of all creatures the most fierce and wild

That ever God made or the devil spoil'd:

The most courageous of men, by want,

As well as honour, are made valiant.

Butler's MS.

² Mr Case, as some have supposed, but, according to others, Dr Burgess,

And disobey'd in making love,
 Have vow'd to all the world to prove,
 And make ye suffer as you ought,
 For that uncharitable fault : 310
 But I forget myself, and rove
 Beyond th' instructions of my love.
 Forgive me, Fair, and only blame
 Th' extravagancy of my flame,
 Since 'tis too much at once to show 315
 Excess of love and temper too.
 All I have said that's bad, and true,
 Was never meant to aim at you,
 Who have so sov'reign a control
 O'er that poor slave of yours, my soul, 320
 That, rather than to forfeit you,
 Has ventur'd loss of heaven too ;
 Both with an equal pow'r possest,
 To render all that serve you blest ;
 But none like him, who's destin'd either 325
 To have or lose you both together ;
 And if you'll but this fault release,
 For so it must be, since you please,
 I'll pay down all that vow, and more,
 Which you commanded, and I swore, 330
 And expiate, upon my skin,
 Th' arrears in full of all my sin :
 For 'tis but just that I should pay
 Th' accruing penance for delay,
 Which shall be done, until it move 335
 Your equal pity and your love.

The Knight, perusing this Epistle,
 Believ'd he 'ad brought her to his whistle ;
 And read it, like a jocund lover,
 With great applause, t' himself, twice over : 340

or Hugh Peters. Most probably the latter, as in several volumes and tracts of the time Peters is distinctly accused of gross lechery; and in Thurloe's State Papers (vol. iv. p. 784) it is stated that he was found with a whore a-bed, and grew mad, and said nothing but "O blood, O blood, that troubles me."

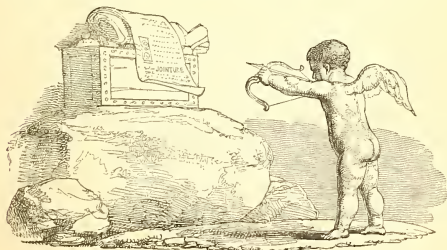
¹ See Butler's "Character of a Wooer."

Subscrib'd his name, but at a fit
 And humble distance to his wit ;
 And dated it with wondrous art,
 ' Giv'n from the bottom of his heart ;'
 Then seal'd it with his coat of love, 345
 A smoking faggot,—and above
 Upon a scroll—I burn, and weep ;
 And near it—For her ladyship,
 Of all her sex most excellent,
 These to her gentle hands present.¹ 350
 Then gave it to his faithless Squire,
 With lessons how t' observe and eye her.²

She first consider'd which was better,
 To send it back, or burn the letter :
 But guessing that it might import, 355
 Tho' nothing else, at least her sport,
 She open'd it, and read it out,
 With many a smile and leering flout :
 Resolv'd to answer it in kind,
 And thus perform'd what she design'd. 360

¹ The Knight's prolix superscription to his love-letter is in the fashionable style of the time. Common forms were—To my much honoured friend—To the most excellent lady—To my loving cousin—these present with care and speed, &c.

² Don Quixote, when he sent his squire Sancho Panza to his mistress Dulcinea del Toboso, gives him similar directions.





THE LADY'S ANSWER

TO

THE KNIGHT.

THAT you 're a beast and turn'd to grass
Is no strange news, nor ever was ;
At least to me, who once, you know,
Did from the pound replevin you,¹
When both your sword and spurs were won 5
In combat by an Amazon :
That sword that did, like fate, determine
Th' inevitable death of vermin,
And never dealt its furious blows,
But cut the threads of pigs and cows, 10
By Trulla was, in single fight,
Disarm'd and wrested from its Knight,

¹ A replevin is a *re-deliverance* of the thing distrained, to remain with the first possessor on surety to answer the distrainer's suit.

Your heels degraded of your spurs,¹
 And in the stocks close prisoners :
 Where still they 'd lain, in base restraint, 15
 If I, in pity 'f your complaint,
 Had not, on hon'able conditions,
 Releas't 'em from the worst of prisons ;
 And what return that favour met,
 You cannot, tho' you wou'd forget ; 20
 When being free you strove t' evade
 The oaths you had in prison made ;
 Forswore yourself, and first denied it,
 But after own'd, and justified it ;
 And when you 'd falsely broke one vow, 35
 Absolv'd yourself, by breaking two.
 For while you sneakingly submit,
 And beg for pardon at our feet ;²
 Discourag'd by your guilty fears,
 To hope for quarter, for your ears ; 30
 And doubting 'twas in vain to sue,
 You claim us boldly as your due,
 Declare that treachery and force,
 To deal with us, is th' only course ;
 We have no title nor pretence 35
 To body, soul, or conscience,
 But ought to fall to that man's share
 That claims us for his proper ware :
 These are the motives which, t' induce,
 Or fright us into love, you use ; 40
 A pretty new way of gallanting,
 Between soliciting and ranting ;
 Like sturdy beggars, that intreat
 For charity at once, and threat.
 But since you undertake to prove 45
 Your own propriety in love,
 As if we were but lawful prize
 In war; between two enemies,

¹ In England, when a knight was degraded, his gilt spurs were beaten from his heels, and his sword taken from him and broken. See a previous note.

² The widow, to keep up her dignity and importance, speaks of herself in the plural number.

Or forfeitures which ev'ry lover,
 That would but sue for, might recover, 50
 It is not hard to understand
 The myst'ry of this bold demand,
 That cannot at our persons aim,
 But something capable of claim.¹

'Tis not those paltry counterfeit 55
 French stones, which in our eyes you set,
 But our right diamonds, that inspire
 And set your am'rous hearts on fire ;
 Nor can those false St Martin's beads ²
 Which on our lips you lay for reds, 60
 And make us wear like Indian dames,³
 Add fuel to your scorching flames,
 But those two rubies of the rock,
 Which in our cabinets we lock.
 'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth,⁴ 65
 That you are so transported with,

¹ Their property.

² That is, counterfeit rubies. The manufacturers and venders of glass beads, and other counterfeit jewels, established themselves on the site of the old collegiate church of St Martin's-le-Grand (demolished upon the dissolution of the monasteries), where they carried on a considerable trade. The articles fabricated at this place were called by its name, as we now say, "Brommagem ware."

³ Female savages in many parts of the globe wear ornaments of fish-bone, stones, or coloured glass when they can get it, on their lips and noses.

⁴ In the History of Don Fenise, a romance translated from the Spanish of Francisco de las Coveras, and printed 1656, p. 269, is the following passage: "My covetousness exceeding my love, counselled me that it was better to have gold in money than in threads of hair; and to possess pearls that resemble teeth, than teeth that were like pearls."

In praising Chloris, moons, and stars, and skies,
 Are quickly made to match her face and eyes;
 And gold and rubies, with as little care,
 To fit the colour of her lips and hair:
 And mixing suns, and flow'rs, and pearl, and stones,
 Make them serve all complexions at once:
 With these fine fancies at hap-hazard writ,
 I could make verses without art or wit,
 And shifting fifty times the verb and noun,
 With stol'n impertinence patch up my own.

But those we wear about our necks,
 Produce those amorous effects.
 Nor is 't those threads of gold, our hair,
 The periwigs you make us wear; 70
 But those bright guineas in our chests,
 That light the wildfire in your breasts.
 These love-tricks I've been vers'd in so,
 That all their sly intrigues I know,
 And can unriddle, by their tones, 75
 Their mystic cabals, and jargones;
 Can tell what passions, by their sounds,
 Pine for the beauties of my grounds;
 What raptures fond and amorous,
 O' th' charms and graces of my house; 80
 What ecstasy and scorching flame,
 Burns for my money in my name;
 What from th' unnatural desire,
 To beasts and cattle, takes its fire;
 What tender sigh, and trickling tear, 85
 Longs for a thousand pounds a year;
 And languishing transports are fond
 Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond.¹
 These are th' attracts which most men fall
 Enamour'd, at first sight, withal; 90
 To these th' address with serenades,
 And court with balls and masquerades;
 And yet, for all the yearning pain
 Ye 've suffer'd for their loves in vain,
 I fear they'll prove so nice and coy, 95
 To have, and t' hold, and to enjoy;
 That all your oaths and labour lost,
 They'll ne'er turn ladies of the post.²
 This is not meant to disapprove
 Your judgment, in your choice of love, 100
 Which is so wise, the greatest part
 Of mankind study 't as an art;

¹ Statute is a short writing called Statute Marchant, or Statute Staple, in the nature of a bond, &c., made according to the form expressly provided in certain statutes, 5th Hen. IV. c. 12, and others.

² That is, will never swear for you, or vow to take you for a husband.

For love shou'd, like a deodand,
 Still fall to th' owner of the land ;¹
 And where there 's substance for its ground, 105
 Cannot but be more firm and sound,
 Than that which has the slighter basis
 Of airy virtue, wit, and graces ;
 Which is of such thin subtlety,
 It steals and creeps in at the eye, 110
 And, as it can't endure to stay,
 Steals out again, as nice a way.²
 But love that its extraction owns
 From solid gold and precious stones,
 Must, like its shining parents, prove 115
 As solid and as glorious love.
 Hence 'tis you have no way t' express
 Our charms and graces but by these ;
 For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth,
 Which beauty invades and conquers with, 120
 But rubies, pearls, and diamonds,
 With which a philter love commands ?³
 This is the way all parents prove,
 In managing their children's love ;
 That force 'em t' intermarry and wed, 125
 As if th' were bury'ng of the dead ;
 Cast earth to earth, as in the grave,⁴
 To join in wedlock all they have,

¹ Any moving thing which occasions the death of a man is forfeited to the lord of the manor. It was originally intended that he should dispose of it in acts of charity: hence the name deodand, meaning a thing given, or rather forfeited, to God, for the pacification of his wrath, in case of misadventure, whereby a Christian man cometh to a violent end, without the fault of any reasonable creature. The crown frequently granted this right to individuals, within certain limits, or annexed it to lands, by which it became vested in the lord of the manor.

² Farquhar has this thought in his dialogue between Archer and Cherry. See the *Beaux Stratagem*.

³ Out of which love makes a philter.

⁴ The Burial Office, observes Dr Grey, was scandalously ridiculed. One Brooke, a London lecturer, at the burial of Mr John Gough, used the following profanity:—

Ashes to ashes, dust to dust,
 Here 's the pit, and in thou must.

Mercurius Rusticus, No. 9.

And, when the settlement's in force,
 Take all the rest for better or worse ; 130
 For money has a pow'r above
 The stars, and fate, to manage love,
 Whose arrows, learned poets hold,
 That never miss, are tipp'd with gold.¹
 And tho' some say, the parents' claims 135
 To make love in their children's names,²
 Who, many times, at once provide
 The nurse, the husband, and the bride
 Feel darts and charms, attracts and flames,
 And woo, and contract, in their names, 140
 And as they christen, use to marry 'em,
 And, like their gossips, answer for 'em ;
 Is not to give in matrimony,
 But sell and prostitute for money.
 'Tis better than their own betrothing, 145
 Who often do 't for worse than nothing ;
 And when they're at their own dispose,
 With greater disadvantage choose.
 All this is right ; but, for the course
 You take to do 't, by fraud or force, 150
 'Tis so ridiculous, as soon
 As told, 'tis never to be done,
 No more than setters can betray,³
 That tell what tricks they are to play.

But Mr Cheynell (the Nonconformist) behaved still more irreverently at the funeral of that eminent divine *Chillingworth*. After a reflecting speech on the deceased, in which he declaimed against the use of reason in religious matters, he threw his book, 'The Religion of Protestants, or a safe way to Salvation,' into the grave, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which has seduced so many precious souls ; get thee gone, thou corrupt, rotten book, earth to earth, dust to dust : get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayst rot with thy author, and see corruption." See *Neal's Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 102.

¹ In Ovid Cupid employs two arrows, one of gold, and the other of lead : the former causing love, the latter aversion.

² Though thus in all editions, *claim* and *name* would be better readings : for *claim* is the nominative case to *is* in verse 143.

³ *Setter*, a term frequent in the comedies of the last century : sometimes it seems to be a pimp, sometimes a spy, but most usually an attendant on a cheating gamester, who introduces unpractised youths to be pillaged, by

Marriage, at best, is but a vow, 155
 Which all men either break or bow ;
 Then what will those forbear to do,
 Who perjure when they do but woo ?
 Such as beforehand swear and lie,
 For earnest to their treachery, 160
 And, rather than a crime confess,
 With greater strive to make it less :
 Like thieves, who, after sentence past,
 Maintain their inn'cence to the last ;
 And when their crimes were made appear 165
 As plain as witnesses can swear,
 Yet when the wretches come to die,
 Will take upon their death a lie.
 Nor are the virtues you confess'd
 T' your ghostly father, as you guess'd, 170
 So slight as to be justified,
 By be'ng as shamefully denied ;
 As if you thought your word would pass,
 Point-blank, on both sides of a case ;
 Or credit were not to be lost 175
 B' a brave knight-errant of the post,
 That eats perfidiously his word,
 And swears his ears through a two-inch board ;¹
 Can own the same thing, and disown,
 And perjure booty *pro* and *con* ; 180
 Can make the Gospel serve his turn,
 And help him out to be forsworn ;
 When 'tis laid hands upon, and kist,
 To be betray'd and sold, like Christ.
 These are the virtues in whose name 185
 A right to all the world you claim,
 And boldly challenge a dominion,
 In grace and nature, o'er all women ;

him ; what a setting dog is to a sportsman. Butler here seems to say that those who tell the cards in another's hand, cannot always tell how they will be played.

¹ That is, endeavours to shield himself from the punishment due to perjury, the loss of his ears, by a desperate perseverance in false swearing. A person is said to swear through a two-inch board, when he makes oath of anything which was concealed from him by a thick door or partition.

Of whom no less will satisfy,
 Than all the sex, your tyranny : 190
 Altho' you'll find it a hard province,
 With all your crafty frauds and covins,¹
 To govern such a num'rous crew,
 Who, one by one, now govern you ;
 For if you all were Solomons, 195
 And wise and great as he was once,
 You'll find they're able to subdue,
 As they did him, and baffle you.
 And if you are impos'd upon,
 'Tis by your own temptation done : 200
 That with your ignorance invite,
 And teach us how to use the slight.
 For when we find ye're still more taken
 With false attracts of our own making,
 Swear that's a rose, and that's a stone, 205
 Like sots, to us that laid it on,
 And what we did but slightly prime,
 Most ignorantly daub in rhyme ;
 You force us, in our own defences,
 To copy beams and influences ; 210
 To lay perfections on the graces,
 And draw attracts upon our faces ;
 And, in compliance to your wit,
 Your own false jewels counterfeit :
 For, by the practice of those arts, 215
 We gain a greater share of hearts ;
 And those deserve in reason most,
 That greatest pains and study cost ;
 For great perfections are, like heav'n,
 Too rich a present to be giv'n : 220
 Nor are those master-strokes of beauty
 To be perform'd without hard duty,
 Which, when they're nobly done, and well,
 The simple natural excel.
 How fair and sweet the planted rose,² 225
 Beyond the wild in hedges, grows !

¹ Covin is a term of law, signifying a deceitful compact between two or more, to deceive or prejudice others.

² This and the following lines are full of poetry. Mr Nash supposes

For, without art, the noblest seeds
 Of flowers degenerate into weeds :
 How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground
 And polish'd, looks a diamond! 230
 Though paradise were e'er so fair,
 It was not kept so without care.
 The whole world, without art and dress,
 Would be but one great wilderness ;
 And mankind but a savage herd, 235
 For all that nature has conferr'd :
 This does but rough-hew and design,
 Leaves art to polish and refine.
 Though women first were made for men,
 Yet men were made for them agen : 240
 For when, out-witted by his wife,
 Man first turn'd tenant but for life,¹
 If woman had not interven'd,
 How soon had mankind had an end !
 And that it is in being yet, 245
 To us alone you are in debt.
 Then where's your liberty of choice,
 And our unnatural no-voice ?
 Since all the privilege you boast,
 And falsel' usurp'd, or vainly lost, 250
 Is now our right, to whose creation
 You owe your happy restoration.
 And if we had not weighty cause
 To not appear in making laws,
 We could, in spite of all your tricks 255
 And shallow formal politics,
 Force you our managements t' obey,
 As we to yours, in show, give way.
 Hence 'tis, that while you vainly strive
 T' advance your high prerogative, 260
 You basely, after all your braves,
 Submit and own yourselves our slaves ;

that Butler alludes to Milton, when he says,

Though paradise were e'er so fair,
 It was not kept so without care.

¹ When man became subject to death by eating the forbidden fruit at the persuasion of woman.

And 'cause we do not make it known,
 Nor publicly our int'rests own,
 Like sots, suppose we have no shares 265
 In ord'ring you, and your affairs,
 When all your empire and command,
 You have from us, at second-hand :
 As if a pilot, that appears
 To sit still only, while he steers, 270
 And does not make a noise and stir,
 Like ev'ry common mariner,
 Knew nothing of the card, nor star,
 And did not guide the man of war :
 Nor we, because we don't appear 275
 In councils, do not govern there :
 While, like the mighty Prester John,
 Whose person none dares look upon,¹
 But is preserv'd in close disguise,
 From b'ing made cheap to vulgar eyes, 280
 W' enjoy as large a pow'r unseen,
 To govern him, as he does men :
 And, in the right of our Pope Joan,
 Make emp'rors at our feet fall down ;
 Or Joan de Pucelle's braver name,² 285
 Our right to arms and conduct claim ;

¹ The name or title of Prester John has been given by travellers to the king of Tendue in Asia, who, like the Abyssinian emperors, preserved great state, and did not condescend to be seen by his subjects more than three times a year, namely, Christmas day, Easter day, and Holyrood day in September. (See *Purchas's Pilgrimes*, vol. ii. p. 1082.) He is said to have had seventy kings for his vassals. Mandeville makes Prester John sovereign of an archipelago of isles in India beyond Baetria, and says that "a former emperor travelled into Egypt, where being present at divine service, he asked who those persons were that stood before the bishop? And being told they were *prestres*, or priests, he said he would no more be called king or emperor, but priest; and would take the name of him that came first out of the priests, and was called John; since which time all the emperors have been called Prester John."—Cap. 99.

² *Joan of Arc*, called also the *Pucelle*, or Maid of Orleans. She was born at the town of Domremi, on the Meuse, daughter of *James de Arc* and *Isabelle Romée*, and was bred up a shepherdess in the country. At the age of eighteen or twenty she asserted that she had received an express commission from God to go to the relief of Orleans, then besieged by the English, and defended by *John Compte de Dennis*, and almost reduced to the

Who, tho' a spinster, yet was able
 To serve France for a grand constable.
 We make and execute all laws,
 Can judge the judges, and the Cause; 290
 Prescribe all rules of right or wrong,
 To th' long robe, and the longer tongue,
 'Gainst which the world has no defence,
 But our more pow'rful eloquence.
 We manage things of greatest weight 295
 In all the world's affairs of state;
 Are ministers of war and peace,
 That sway all nations how we please.
 We rule all churches and their flocks,
 Heretical and orthodox, 300
 And are the heav'nly vehicles
 O' th' spirits in all conventicles :¹
 By us is all commerce and trade
 Improv'd, and manag'd, and decay'd :
 For nothing can go off so well, 305
 Nor bears that price, as what we sell.
 We rule in ev'ry public meeting,
 And make men do what we judge fitting ;²

last extremity. She went to the coronation of Charles the Seventh, when he was almost ruined, and recognised that prince in the midst of his nobles, though meanly habited. The doctors of divinity and members of Parliament openly declared that there was something supernatural in her conduct. She sent for a sword, which lay in the tomb of a knight, behind the great altar of the church of *St Katharine de Forbois*, upon the blade of which the *cross* and *fleur-de-lis's* were engraven, which put the king in a very great surprise, as none beside himself was supposed to know of it. Upon this he sent her with the command of some troops, with which she relieved Orleans, and drove the English from it, defeated *Talbot* at the battle of *Pattai*, and recovered *Champagne*. At last she was unfortunately taken prisoner in a sally at *Champagne* in 1430, and tried for a witch or sorceress, condemned, and burnt in *Rouen* market-place in May, 1430. But her story is differently told by different historians; some denying the truth of the greater part of it, and some even of her existence. *Anstis*, in his Register of the Order of the Garter, says that for her valiant actions she was ennobled and had a grant of arms, dated January 16th, 1429. Her story is beautifully dramatised by *Schiller* in his "*Maid of Orleans*."

¹ As good vehicles at least as the cloak-bag, which was said to have conveyed the same from Rome to the Council of Trent.

² Much of what is here said on the political influence of women, was aimed at the court of Charles II., who was greatly governed by his

Are magistrates in all great towns,
 Where men do nothing but wear gowns. 310
 We make the man of war strike sail,¹
 And to our braver conduct veil,
 And, when he's chas'd his enemies,
 Submit to us upon his knees.
 Is there an officer of state, 315
 Untimely rais'd, or magistrate,
 That's haughty and imperious?
 He's but a journeyman to us,
 That, as he gives us cause to do't,
 Can keep him in, or turn him out. 320
 We are your guardians, that increase
 Or waste your fortunes how we please;
 And, as you humour us, can deal
 In all your matters, ill or well.
 'Tis we that can dispose alone, 325
 Whether your heirs shall be your own;
 To whose integrity you must,
 In spite of all your caution, trust;
 And 'less you fly beyond the seas,
 Can fit you with what heirs we please;² 330
 And force you t' own them, tho' begotten
 By French valets, or Irish footmen.
 Nor can the rigorousest course
 Prevail, unless to make us worse;
 Who still, the harsher we are us'd, 335
 Are further off from b'ing reduc'd;
 And scorn t' abate, for any ills,
 The least punctilio of our wills.
 Force does but whet our wits t' apply
 Arts, born with us, for remedy, 340
 Which all your politics, as yet,
 Have ne'er been able to defeat:
 For, when ye've try'd all sorts of ways,
 What fools d' we make of you in plays?

mistresses, especially the Duchess of Portsmouth, who was in the interest of France. Some suppose that the wife of General Monk may be intended.

¹ Alluding probably to Sir William Waller.

² See note on line 598 at page 289.

While all the favours we afford 345
 Are but to girt you with the sword,
 To fight our battles in our steads,
 And have your brains beat out o' your heads;
 Encounter, in despite of nature,
 And fight, at once, with fire and water, 350
 With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,
 Our pride and vanity t' appease;
 Kill one another, and cut throats,
 For our good graces, and best thoughts;
 To do your exercise for honour, 355
 And have your brains beat out the sooner;
 Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon
 Things that are never to be known:
 And still appear the more industrious,
 The more your projects are prepost'rous; 360
 To square the circle of the arts,
 And run stark mad to show your parts;
 Expound the oracle of laws,
 And turn them which way we see cause;
 Be our solicitors and agents, 365
 And stand for us in all engagements.
 And these are all the mighty pow'rs
 You vainly boast to cry down ours;
 And what in real value's wanting,
 Supply with vapouring and ranting: 370
 Because yourselves are terrified,
 And stoop to one another's pride:
 Believe we have as little wit
 To be out-hector'd, and submit:
 By your example, lose that right 375
 In treaties, which we gain'd in fight:¹
 And terrified into an awe,
 Pass on ourselves a Salique law;²

¹ England, in every period of her history, has been thought more successful in war than in negotiation. Congreve, reflecting upon Queen Anne's last ministry, in his epistle to Lord Cobham, says:

Be far that guilt, be never known that shame,
 That Britain should retract her rightful claim,
 Or stain with pen the triumphs of her sword!

² The Salique law bars the succession of females to some inheritances.

Or, as some nations use, give place,
 And truckle to your mighty race,¹
 Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,
 As if they were the better women.

380


Thus knights' fees were in some parts *terræ salicæ*: males only being allowed to inherit such lands, because females could not perform the services for which they were granted. In France this law regulates the inheritance of the crown itself. See Shakspeare, Henry V., Act i. sc. 2.

¹ Grey thinks this may be an allusion to the obsequiousness of the Muscovite women, recorded in *Purchas's Pilgrimes* (vol. ii. p. 230), a book with which our poet seems to have been very familiar. It is there said, "That if in Muscovy the woman is not beaten once a week she will not be good; and therefore they look for it weekly: and the women say, if their husbands did not beat them, they should not love them."





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